

# American Research Center in Egypt, Inc.

## NEWSLETTER



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NUMBERS 101/102

SUMMER/FALL 1977

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North Harrison Street  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540  
United States of America

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Garden City, Cairo  
Arab Republic of Egypt

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CONTENTS

PAGE

In Memoriam: Dieter Mueller. . . . .	1
1978 Annual Meeting: Preliminary Announcement . . . . .	3
News of Other Associations. . . . .	4
Kafr el-Elow Revisited	
- Hani Fakhouri. . . . .	8
Archeological Work at Thebes	
- Richard Fazzini and James Manning. . . . .	12
1977 Annual Meeting Abstracts . . . . .	28
Sociolinguistic Treatment of Bilingualism in Egypt	
- Aleya Rouchdy. . . . .	39
The Amarna Period of Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt:	
Bibliography Supplement, 1976	
- Edward K. Werner . . . . .	41

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Linda Pappas Funsch  
Editor-in-chief

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DIETER MUELLER  
1935-1977

The tragic death of Dieter Mueller has removed from the world of Egyptology one of its most brilliant young scholars and left a void that will be very difficult to fill. North American Egyptology benefited greatly from the presence of this dynamic German-born scholar, student of Morenz and assistant to Schott and Lüdeckens, who brought to this continent a wide background in classical studies and a command of Egyptology spanning everything from earliest Egyptian religious literature to Christian and gnostic writings. His mastery of both original documents and secondary sources, his wide reading and broad range of research made Mueller an invaluable reviewer for seven journals and the Annual Egyptological Bibliography.

We know very well the respect and admiration that Mueller had for his own eminent professors in Germany, but there is little doubt that his own knowledge was as vast and that he was even more reliable in terms of his clear perceptions, intuitive insights and masterful interpretations. His work was very carefully reasoned and well presented and, as in the case of his doctoral dissertation, Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien, will easily stand the test of time. Of his fifteen articles, perhaps the most significant, at least in the field of analysis of Egyptian religious literature in which he excelled, was "An Early Egyptian Guide to the Hereafter" in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 58. A grammar of Middle Egyptian, which was a product of his determination to be an effective teacher, will be published posthumously.

Dieter Mueller was an invaluable sounding board and a generous colleague. He was also a formidable critic who did more than his share to uphold the highest standards of scholarship. He was gentle in correcting the few errors of young scholars, but could be devastating in chiding the sloppy professors who should have known better. In defense of scientific method, he willingly risked popular criticism when he publicly faced and debated Velikovsky at Lethbridge.

Periodically, Dieter's work has been "discovered" by scholars who dutifully noted what a pity it was that he was "lost" or "wasted" teaching ancient history at the University of Lethbridge in Alberta. They failed to see that Mueller's cooperation in International projects such as the Annual Egyptological Bibliography and the Coptic Gnostic Library Project together with his frequent participation in lectures, symposia, committees, and national meetings throughout North America and his correspondence worldwide make it clear that a great scholar can thrive even on the far frontiers without the patronage of famous institutions.

Given more time, the gravitational pull of this great Egyptologist would have grown even stronger, his audience even larger. As it is, his influence will surely continue to be felt far and wide despite the fact that his life has been cut so short.

Leonard H. Lesko  
University of California,  
Berkeley

1978 ANNUAL MEETING: PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT

The 1978 Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt will be held in New York City on Friday, Saturday, Sunday, April 14, 15, and 16, 1978. Our host this year will be New York University.

Pre-registration form for papers:

All those interested in presenting a paper at the meeting are urged to send the enclosed form to the appropriate section chairman (listed below) as soon as possible.

Abstracts:

Please note that an abstract of no longer than 250 words, typed and double-spaced, must also be received before February 15, 1978. The Program Committee will be unable to consider any abstracts submitted after that date.

On Friday, April 14, the Department of Egyptian and Classical Art of the Brooklyn Museum has graciously offered to host a reception and an open house of the Egyptian, Classical, and Kevorkian Galleries from 6:00-8:00 p.m. Special buses will be available for the trip between the Museum and New York University. This invitation has been extended to all ARCE members and their guests.

The ARCE dinner will be held on Saturday evening, April 15, at New York University. A cocktail reception, provided by our hosts, will precede the dinner.

Further details on all aspects of the Annual Meeting will follow within a few weeks.

1978 Program Committee

ANCIENT: Thomas J. Logan  
Associate Curator  
Department of Egyptian Art  
Metropolitan Museum of Art  
New York, New York 10028

Robert S. Bianchi  
Associate Curator  
Egyptian and Classical Art  
The Brooklyn Museum  
Brooklyn, New York 11238

MEDIEVAL: Carl Petry  
Department of History  
Harris Hall  
Northwestern University  
Evanston, Illinois 60201

MODERN: Charles D. Smith  
Department of History  
San Diego State University  
San Diego, California 92182

The 28th Annual Meeting  
of the  
American Research Center in Egypt

NEWS OF OTHER ASSOCIATIONS

Meetings and Conferences:

The Eleventh Annual Meeting of the  
MIDDLE EAST STUDIES ASSOCIATION  
November 9-12, 1977  
at the Statler Hilton Hotel  
New York City

The Middle East Studies  
Association of North  
America, Inc.  
Hagop Kevorkian Center  
for Near Eastern Studies  
50 Washington Square South  
New York, New York 10003

The Seventy-ninth General Meeting  
of the  
ARCHEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA  
with the  
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION  
December 28-30, 1977  
at the Atlanta Hilton Hotel  
Atlanta, Georgia

The Archeological Institute  
of America  
260 West Broadway  
New York, New York 10013

The One Hundred and Eighty-eighth Meeting  
of the  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY  
April 11-13, 1978  
at the Park Plaza Hotel  
Toronto, Canada  
hosted by the  
University of Toronto and Royal Ontario Museum

The American Oriental Society  
329 Sterling Memorial Library  
Yale Station  
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

PRE-REGISTRATION FORM

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NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

ACADEMIC AFFILIATION AND STATUS:

ARCE Member  yes  no

I should like to read a paper in the following section:

Ancient  Medieval  Modern

I would require projection facilities:

yes  no

I would need approximately:

10 minutes  15 minutes  20 minutes

(The Program Committee will try to accomodate everyone's time request. While it may be necessary to curtail the length of some papers for reasons of schedule, all such changes will be brought to the attention of the speakers as early as possible.)

TENTATIVE TITLE \_\_\_\_\_

I understand that unless it accompanies this form, an abstract must be submitted before February 15, 1978.

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON GNOSTICISM

March 28-31, 1978

Yale University

New Haven, Connecticut

The Conference will be organized in three sections;

(1) A section on general research topics, in which papers will be read on all aspects of ancient and medieval Gnosticism and its background, as approached by the disciplines of Biblical Studies, History of Religions, Sociology, Philosophy, Psychology, Literary Criticism, etc.:

(2) A research section on the Valentinian Gnostic movement, in which papers by leading specialists will be discussed in a seminar;

(3) A research section on the Sethian, or Barbelo-Gnostic, movement.

Major public addresses on Gnosticism will be delivered by Professors Henry Chadwick, Gilles Quispel, and Hans Jonas.

An exhibition of ancient Gnostic manuscripts, including papyri from the Coptic Gnostic Library of Nag Hammadi, will be on display at Yale during the conference.

The conference is sponsored by the Department of Religious Studies of Yale University.

All scholars are cordially invited to participate in the Conference, either by attending or by reading a paper. Further information may be obtained by writing to:

Professor B. Layton  
Department of Religious Studies  
Yale University  
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Exhibition:

"Myth and Gospel: Art of Coptic Egypt"  
October 9, 1977 - February 27, 1978  
The Newark Museum  
Newark, New Jersey

An exhibit of the art of Coptic Egypt, dating from the 4th to the 6th centuries A.D., opens October 9. Coptic art is not that of the Pharaohs and pyramids: diverse influences from centuries of Greek and Roman rule, foreign trade and the developing Christian faith made it quite unlike the official and government inspired art of earlier eras. It evidences appealing folk art qualities, and indeed was created by the common people of the period. Best known are the colorful Coptic textiles, including ornamental wall hangings, ecclesiastical furnishings and tapestry woven bands or patches that decorated tunics. Also important are the painted stone sculptures, ivory carvings, woodwork and examples of printed and hand-lettered Coptic writing in the exhibit.

The unusual variety and range of this exhibition has been made possible by generous loans, particularly from the Brooklyn Museum, as well as from the Morgan Library, the Princeton University Art Museum, the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C., and from private lenders Father Oscar Magnan, MSSrs. Emmanuel and Fred Nadler, Mr. and Mrs. Y. Sidhom and Mr. Louis Zara.

Like so many aspects of Egyptian culture, the Coptic tradition has endured. Egyptian language and music survive in the liturgy of the Coptic Orthodox Church, and Coptic churches as near as Jersey City strongly preserve these traditions. A series of gallery talks and film programs has been scheduled in conjunction with the exhibit. Myth and Gospel: Art of Coptic Egypt will be on view through February 26, 1978. The Museum's hours are 12-5:00 p.m., Monday through Saturday, and 1-5:00 p.m., Sundays and holidays.

Symposium on Coptic Art:

On Saturday, December 3, 1977, a symposium entitled, "Coptic Art and Culture," will be held at The Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey. The symposium will be sponsored by the Museum and the Egyptian American Association, with a grant from the New Jersey Committee for the Humanities, an affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The public is cordially invited.

Program

10:00 a.m. Samuel C. Miller, Director of The Newark Museum. Introduction and presentation of issues for discussion.

10:30 a.m. Dr. Aziz Atiya, Professor Emeritus, University of Utah. Historian, specialist in Mediaeval Europe, Eastern church history and Coptic studies. "Prelude to Coptic History and Coptic Art."

1:30 p.m. Dr. Janice Van Alen, Assistant Professor of Music, Jersey City State College, and associated with the International Studies Program. "Dynamics and Statics of Coptic Music." Lecture demonstration with recorded music.

2:45 p.m. Dr. Susan H. Auth, Curator of the Classical Collection, The Newark Museum; organizer of the exhibit on Coptic art. "An Introduction to Coptic Art. Problems and Prospects." Slide lecture based on the exhibition.

4:00 p.m. Viewing of exhibition, Myth and Gospel: Art of Coptic Egypt.

مركز البحوث الافريقية بمصر

KAFR EL-ELOW REVISITED: AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF  
INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION ON A PEASANT COMMUNITY

Hani Fakhouri  
University of Michigan, Flint  
ARCE Fellow, 1976-77

This report is based upon a four month field trip to Egypt between May and September, 1977. The investigator has been conducting extensive research on the impact of industrialization and urbanization on the life of the peasant population in the village of Kafr el-Elow since 1964. During that period, he has conducted an ethnographic study of this village, located in the midst of Egypt's largest industrial complex a few miles from the city of Helwan. The first phase of the study was completed in June, 1966. The analysis of the data then reflects that between the time when Kafr-el-Elow came into existence (around 1750) and the time when the first phase of this study came to an end (in 1966) the village community passed through three distinct historical stages.

The first stage, which commenced with the establishment of the village, lasted nearly a hundred and fifty years -- until the 1920's. During this period, the village was a small homogeneous community whose economy was based on subsistence farming. Despite the proximity of the village to Cairo and to Helwan, most of the villagers lived in isolation.

\* The second stage of Kafr el-Elow's history began in the early 1920's, when a few pieces of modern machinery were introduced into the village, such as cars, water pumps for irrigation, the establishment of a small cement factory, and a textile mill. Economic gains from the new industrial technology were small and limited. The second stage of Kafr el-Elow's history came to an end early in the 1950's after a decade of exposure to the influences of World War II.

The Revolution of 1952, which initiated a new political, social, and economic order in Egypt, marked the beginning of the third stage of Kafr el-Elow's history. Egypt's largest industrial complex started rising in the Helwan area during the late 1950's, producing marked changes in the social and economic life of the community. By 1966, impressive technological changes had taken place in Kafr el-Elow. For example, the rapid increase of industrial employment among the villagers produced a dramatic impact upon the lives of the illiterate majority of the population. Also, the village of Kafr el-Elow was incorporated into the adjacent city of Helwan, the administrative center for the southern part of the Cairo governorate, and was thereby officially re-zoned as an urban area.

At the time when the first phase of this research came to an end in 1966, a definite struggle for dominance was being waged between the new industrial, urban order and the traditional peasant agricultural order. Consequently, the old social order was not only undergoing modification but, in some areas, a complete transformation.\* Since the advent of large-scale industrialization adjacent to Kafr el-Elow, which took place between 1955-1966, not enough time had elapsed then to analyze the impact of change on the villagers life.

The second phase of this study which began in June-July, 1976, and in May-August, 1977, focused on the following:

- a) The physical changes which took place within the village and its adjacent area during the ten years preceding 1976.
- b) The manner in which urbanization and industrialization effected social institutions in Kafr el-Elow; namely, how the village community managed to borrow and then integrate the new traits into a relatively peasant culture.

During the last decade, 1966-1976, tremendous physical expansion occurred within the village and its adjacent area. Such changes are reflected in the following:

- a) The village population had increased by nearly 300%, from 6,700 people in 1966 to more than 20,000 people in 1976. This increase is the result of the flow of migrant workers who came from different parts of Egypt to work in various industrial outlets and settled in the village, and due to natural birth increase. It has been pointed out by informants and village elders that 50-60% of the village population consists of migrant workers who began to settle in the village since the early 1960's.
- b) The increase in population has led to a large expansion in housing construction and various commercial outlets and facilities to meet the pressing needs of the village. Nearly 80% of the new construction and expansion has occurred on land that was previously under cultivation. Nearly 50% of the villagers' cultivated land has been used to accommodate this physical expansion.

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\*For further information on the village, see H. Fakhouri, Kafr el-Elow; An Egyptian Village In Transition, Holt-Rinehart and Winston, 1972.

- c) Communications and the road network have been expanded.
  - i. A new highway has been built, which cuts through the farming land in the western side of the village to accommodate the increasing traffic between Cairo and the industrial complex in the Helwan area. The same highway, when completed, will further facilitate transportation between upper and lower Egypt.
  - ii. A new metro line is under construction passing through the eastern side of the village, which is supposed to link the industrial area with the Helwan-Cairo metro line. The new metro line, when completed, will link the southern part of the greater Cairo metropolitan area (the Helwan area) with the northern one. This new traffic network will facilitate the movement of large segments of the industrial labor force working in the Helwan area.
- d) A number of new factories have been built in and around Kafr el-Elow.
- e) New public facilities have been introduced into the village, such as a school for elementary and junior high students, a mosque, a clinic, and a garbage collecting unit.
- f) Kafr el-Elow is identified both physically and politically as a shiyakha (police precinct) which is under the administrative jurisdiction of the Helwan city council.

The preceding account reflects briefly on some of the major physical changes which have taken place in Kafr el-Elow during the last decade. The impact of these changes in the material component of village culture is also apparent in the non-material component as follows:

- a) The ailah (joint family) is undergoing a change of organization and losing some of its essential character. Many younger people are leaving their joint family households to establish their own nuclear families in separate residential units.
- b) The lines of authority within the household are being challenged by the younger generation, especially in the area of mate selection. Many young people not only question the endogamous marriage system and prerogative of parental choice, but also reject the traditional way by marrying outside their kin groups and choosing brides from other communities. The same trends are effecting the female segment of the community, where some are beginning to object and even reject their parents' choice of a groom. Nevertheless, these young people still subscribe to other norms of the joint family, and have not abandoned their joint family obligations.

- c) The village occupational structure has changed from one which is essentially agricultural to one which is based primarily on industrial employment. This trend has naturally resulted in a marked increase in the number of professional and skilled workers in Kafr el-Elow, most of whom are found among the younger generation.
- d) The new technological order has created more jobs for the villagers whose acquired skills have given them more flexibility in terms of a job selection and mobility. A large number of people are leaving Kafr el-Elow to take more lucrative jobs in such Arab oil producing countries as Libya, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and the Persian Gulf states. This new trend not only reflects a new pattern of social mobility, but also a basic change in the villagers' values.
- e) There has been a remarkable increase in the educational attainment level of the younger generation, reflecting the increasing intergenerational mobility in the village.
- f) The villagers have become more conscious of their role within the society, their political awareness has increased, and they are emerging as a nationally conscious group.

On the basis of the preceding brief analysis one can conclude that the village of Kafr el-Elow is changing rapidly from a relatively classless, agricultural, folk community to a stratified, industrial, and urban community.

مركز البحوث (الأمريكي) بمصر

ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK AT THEBES  
by  
THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM  
under the auspices of  
THE AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT,  
1975 - 1977

by Richard Fazzini and James Manning

The following is a brief account of the archaeological work so far undertaken in the area of Thebes by teams from The Brooklyn Museum under the auspices of the American Research Center in Egypt.

1. Work in the Temple Precinct of the Goddess Mut  
at Southern Karnak

The work in the Precinct of Mut has been funded by gifts from the Friends of Mut. We are deeply indebted to them for their great generosity and encouragement. We are also indebted to H.E. Dr. Gamal Mokhtar, former President of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, and all those other members of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization involved with our work in any way for the assistance which they have given to the Expedition. Considerations of space do not permit the listing of their names or those of individuals from the following institutions or projects to whom we are also grateful for advice and assistance: the Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak, the Akhenaten Temple Project's expedition to Karnak East, the Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale's expedition to Karnak North, the Epigraphic Survey of the University of Chicago, the architectural firm of Esherick, Homsey, Dodge and Davis, San Francisco, and the engineering firm of Rutherford and Chekene, also of San Francisco.

Two seasons of work have been conducted by the Expedition at the Precinct of Mut. The first, in January and February of 1976, was a preliminary survey with the following goals: 1) to begin a topographical survey of the site; 2) to record already visible worked and decorated blocks as yet unpublished or partially published; 3) to determine the nature of the various areas of the site as a basis for planning a program for future work; 4) to do research on monuments known to be from the precinct or otherwise relevant to the study of the precinct.

The work of the first season was aided immeasurably by the kindness of M. Jean Lauffray, Director of the Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak. First he provided the Mut Expedition with a map of the precinct, including the walls of the temples but excluding all but the main contours of the mound, made by the Institut Géographique National in Paris from the aerial photographic survey of the 1960s. Then he helped the Expedition to have

the I.G.N. produce a complete contour survey map of the site for the Expedition from those same photographs. Furnished with the first map and assured of eventually having the second, our architect could immediately tie our work into the co-ordinate grid previously established for all of Karnak<sup>1</sup> and devote his efforts to correcting details of the temples' plans and other features of the site not susceptible to accurate determination from the aerial photographs. The Expedition also made an inventory of the contents of the storage magazine located in the precinct's northern enclosure wall just to the east of the main entrance of the precinct. In 1977 we enlarged this magazine.

The staff for the first season of work consisted of Bernard V. Bothmer (Project Director), Richard Fazzini (Field Director), James Manning (Associate Director), Barbara Giella (Administrator/Archaeologist), Ogden Goelet, Jr. (Epigrapher/Photographer), and George Homsey (Architect).

The second season in the field began in late December, 1976, when James Manning, David Loggie (Photographer) and John Rutherford (Engineer) arrived in Luxor to resume the work started during the preliminary survey. As other members of the Expedition were temporarily delayed in Cairo, Messrs. Manning, Rutherford and Loggie also had time to undertake some work in the Valley of the Kings (see below). By 21 January most of the Expedition's staff was present and excavation began in the northwest sector of the precinct. In addition to Messrs. Manning, Loggie and Rutherford, the staff for the 1977 season consisted of Bernard V. Bothmer, Richard Fazzini, Barbara Giella, George Homsey, Suzanne Heim (Archaeologist) and James Roberts (Conservator). Dr. Robert Bianchi, who had assisted on the home front with work on inscriptions from the precinct, visited the site in July of 1977 to continue with that work. The Egyptian archaeologist representing the Department of Antiquities during both seasons was Mr. Abd El-Fattah El-Sabbahy. We are most grateful to him for all his help. Excavation continued until the 10th of April. Before proceeding to a description of the 1977 excavation we shall give a synopsis of the principal results of the preliminary survey of the site.

The trapezoidally shaped Precinct of Mut is almost 400 meters long and approximately 250 meters wide. Within the precinct are the remains of six temples and chapels which, as is true of the other structures at the site, are at least partially hidden by the rolling mound built up over the millennia.

The Mut Expedition paid little attention to the precinct's main entrance because it had been the object of investigation by the I.F.A.O. under the direction of the late Serge Sauneron. This great scholar, a Wilbour Fellow in 1966 and 1968, was no stranger to The Brooklyn Museum where he was admired and respected. The Mut Expedition is pleased that his work on the precinct's entrance will soon be published by the I.F.A.O.

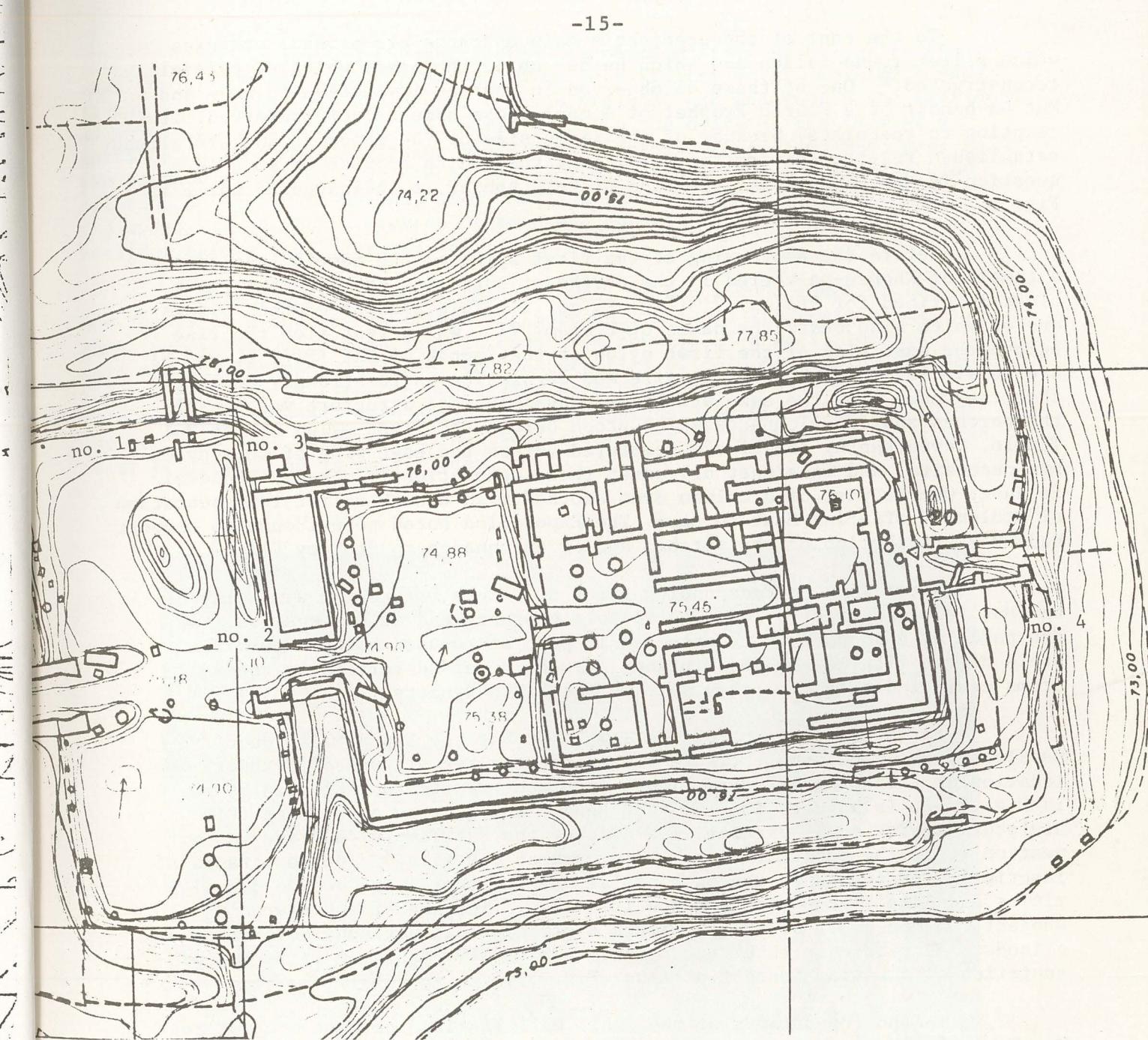
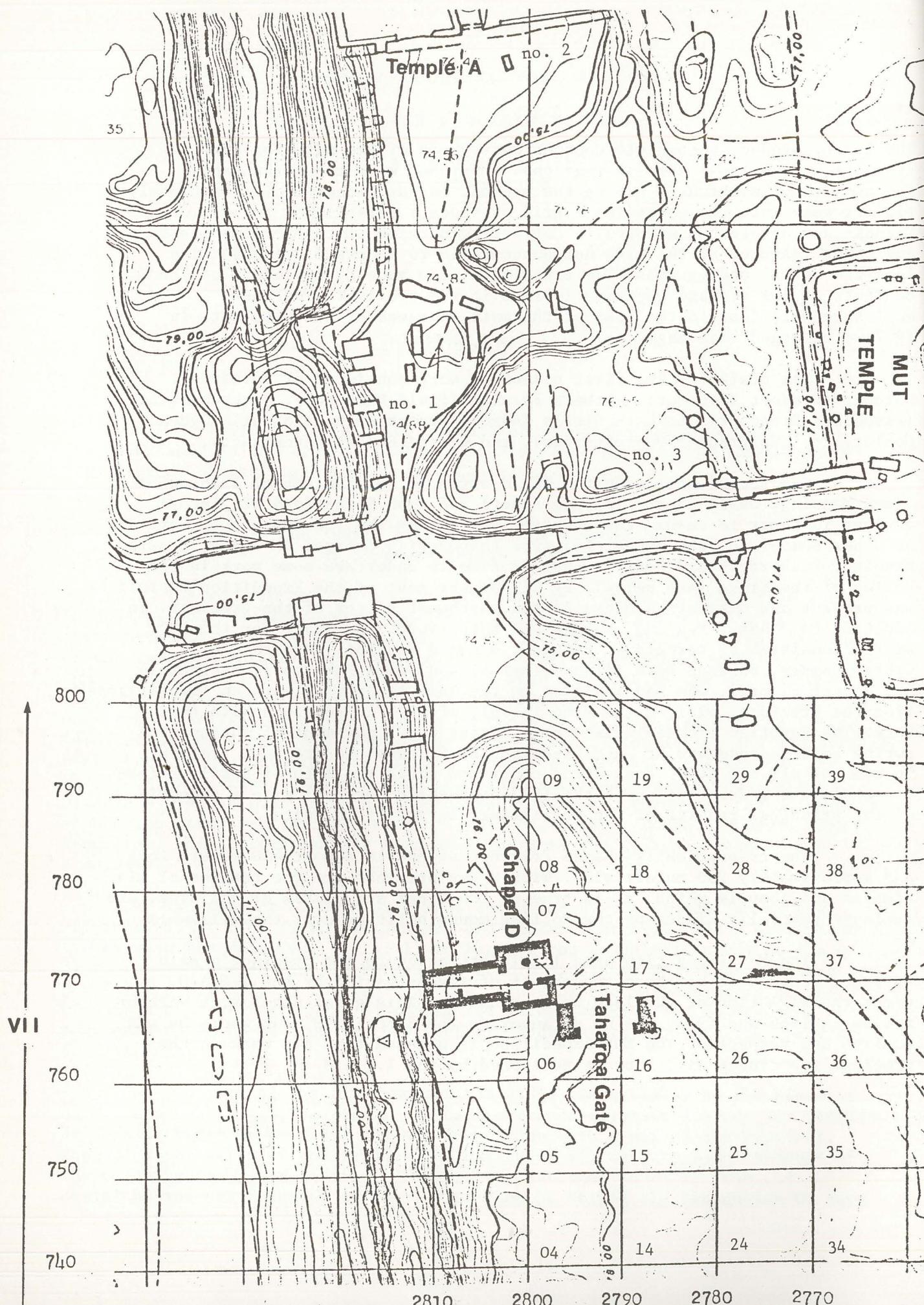


Figure 1 (left) and Figure 2 (above):

Details of the Institut Géographique National  
map of the Mut Precinct

To the east of the precinct's main entrance are several sphinxes which Pillat found fallen and which he set up on the bases which he partially reconstructed.<sup>2</sup> One of these we observed to bear an invocation to Amun and Mut on behalf of a Fourth Prophet of A(mun) whose name is not preserved. It is tempting to speculate, because of the large size of the monument and his already established relationship to the site, that the Fourth Prophet of Amun in question is Mentuemhat. The position of this sphinx is indicated by no. 1 in Fig. 1.

Before the south wing of the first pylon of the temple labeled A, a temple of Khonsu-pa-khered in the northeast corner of the precinct, is a block inscribed for Ptolemy VI (Fig. 1, no. 2). This and three other blocks - one of which also bears the names of Ptolemy VI - which rest atop the rise before the east wing of the first pylon of the Temple of Mut (Fig. 1, no. 3) are so similar to each other in size and decoration as to strongly suggest that they came from the same structure. Possibly that structure was one of the porches and/or colonnades which stood before the first pylon of the Mut Temple. Seventeen of the blocks scattered before the east wing of this pylon are decorated, and in almost all cases their decoration is clearly Ptolemaic in date. One is part of a column drum adorned with a sunk relief representation of Ptolemy V offering Maat to Amun. The Expedition noted no evidence to support Badawy's attribution of the porches and/or colonnades to Ptolemy VIII.<sup>3</sup>

There is no corresponding group of blocks before the west wing of the Mut Temple's first pylon. The visible southern end of the west wall of the porch or colonnade is constructed in part of re-used column drums. The style of the figures and inscriptions carved in raised reliefs on these drums could indicate that they date to the XXVth Dynasty.

In the first court of the Temple of Mut the Expedition found the headless torso of a female figure wedged between two statues of Sakhmet. The location of this over-lifesize figure in black granite is indicated by no. 1 in Fig. 2. It is hard to imagine that Benson and Gourlay overlooked this sculpture during their partial clearance of the Mut Temple, but they do not mention it in the publication of their work at the site.<sup>4</sup> The few traces of inscription preserved on the back pillar are the remains of common queenly titles and help little with the specific identification of the statue's subject. On the basis of the sculpture's style and iconography we are inclined to attribute it to either Dynasty XXV or XXVI and view it as a representation of a Divine Consort of Amun (Fig. 3).

In the foundations of the small wall linking the east wing of the Mut Temple's second pylon to the southermost column in the eastern row of columns down the center of the first court the Expedition recorded two blocks of King Nectanebo I (Fig. 2, no. 2). Their re-use here supports Haeny's proposed late date for this colonnade.<sup>5</sup>

Benson and Gourlay attributed the chamber (Fig. 2, no. 3) in the east end of the Mut Temple's second pylon to a Ptolemy VII.<sup>6</sup> No king's name is now visible on that structure. What is visible, and apparently not mentioned by anyone including Benson and Gourlay, is, to the north of the chamber's entrance, a lengthy inscription mentioning Khonsu-pa-khered and Mut, and, to the south of that doorway, a sunk relief representation of a Ptolemaic king offering to Khonsu-pa-khered, Amun, Mut and Khonsu (Fig. 4). The block with the upper halves of the figures of Amun and Mut was found fallen in the corridor before the decorated wall.

Near the north end of the east wall of the second court of the Mut Temple is a doorway inscribed for Setnakht. A large Ptolemaic block, whose decoration indicates that it came from the top of a wall, located near the northernmost column of the western file of columns running through this court might be cited in connection with Haeny's late date for this colonnade or colonnade with porch.<sup>7</sup> The fragmentary scenes on the walls of the second court, below which run the inscriptions of Ramesses IV, have been recut at least once in many places.



Figure 3: Statue of a Divine Consort of Amun from the Temple of Mut  
Photo: Ogden Goelet

The Expedition devoted considerable attention to the study of the Sakhmet statues within the precinct. So far we have recorded six fragmentary sculptures of the goddess inscribed with epithets not given in the lists of such epithets compiled by others in the past.<sup>8</sup> The most impressive of the Sakhmet statues still standing in the precinct is the colossal figure in the second court of the Temple of Mut. Benson and Gourlay attributed this sculpture to King Sheshonq I because they could find no indication of his inscription having replaced an earlier text on the piece.<sup>9</sup> Since Benson and Gourlay's publication of the statue it has often been dated to the reign of Amenhotep III, the king responsible for the majority of Sakhmet statues in the precinct. However, there are several reasons for not dismissing the original attribution of the statue to the XXIInd Dynasty. The colossal statue of Sakhmet differs from the majority of Sakhmet statues in terms of its large size, the diadem of cobras with larger double uraeus crowning its head, and the fact that the goddess is represented holding a papyrus flower as well as an *ankh*. Another sculpture of Sakhmet in the Mut Temple, which is larger than most such statues and which holds both the papyrus flower and the sign of life, is also inscribed for Sheshonq I. Unfortunately the figure is fragmentary, and so there is no way of determining if it was also crowned with a diadem of cobras rather than the more usual disk with single cobra.

The tall grass behind the Contra-Temple, the unusual structure abutting the rear of the Mut Temple and opening towards the lake, was cut to facilitate the photography of that monument.<sup>10</sup> This operation revealed that the first pier to the west of the Contra-Temple still preserves the emplacements for two columns (Fig. 2, no. 4), a fact which indicates that the plan of this structure may have been larger and more complex than it was previously thought to be.

During the preliminary survey we also cut most of the grass in Temple A to facilitate photography, and this brought to light a large number of loose and re-used decorated blocks.

The history of Temple A has long been the subject of discussion. In Porter and Moss it is called a temple of Dynasty XVIII, restored by Nectanebo I, with Ptolemaic additions.<sup>11</sup> Nectanebo presumably added the present jambs of the doorway in the temple's first pylon; at least they bear his renewal inscriptions. Ptolemaic activity in the temple is evidenced by reliefs and architectural elements either still *in situ* or scattered about the floors.

The dating of the foundation of Temple A to Dynasty XVIII still presents problems. The Mut Expedition noted the existence of a number of blocks of the XVIIIth Dynasty in the temple. One is inscribed for a "Son of Re, Amen(hotep)...", and on another the name of Amun has been first erased and then recarved. But neither these nor the other blocks of the XVIIIth Dynasty are in their original positions in a wall, and none were found any further back in the temple than the second pylon. Pillet, who cleared the temple between 1923 and 1925, believed that it must have existed as early as the reign of Tuthmosis IV, but he felt that it should be called a temple of Ramesses II because he had contributed more to it than his Tuthmoside predecessors.<sup>12</sup> Nagel was inclined to date most of the temple's decoration

to either Dynasty XXI or XXII,<sup>13</sup> an attribution which has sometimes been accepted by others.<sup>14</sup> Daumas concluded that Temple A was originally built by Tuthmosis IV because of the following: the existence before the temple of Osiride statues of Tuthmosis IV usurped by Ramesses II, and presence of the name of Tuthmosis IV on Temple A's second pylon.<sup>15</sup> Leclant, noting that one fragment of relief found in the temple could date from Dynasty XXV, suggested that an investigation of the temple might produce evidence for more work of that period.<sup>16</sup> Barguet has argued that Tuthmosis IV built the second pylon, which was later rebuilt by Ramesses II, and that, with the exception of the second pylon and some late additions and alterations, most of the present Temple A dates to the XXVth Dynasty.<sup>17</sup>

Temple A's first pylon surely postdates at least part of the Ramesside Period because Ramesside blocks were re-used in its construction. No re-used blocks are visible in the side walls of the first court to aid in the dating of those walls. However, a stylistic analysis of the preserved decoration on the north wall of the court has convinced us that Barguet's attribution of these sunk reliefs to Dynasty XXV is correct. Far more damaged and difficult to date is the fragmentary decoration on the south wall of the court. In Porter and Moss this is described as "Double scene, left half, seated god with goddess and soul of (Nekhen?), right half, goddess with soul of Pe."<sup>18</sup> If a Dynasty XXV date is also probable here, we would wonder if the main figures might represent Amun and a Divine Consort of Amun.

The second pylon of Temple A does indeed have a block which bears the name of Tuthmosis IV. However, as Borchardt already observed,<sup>19</sup> it is re-used in the pylon. This could have come from a structure erected for Tuthmosis IV on the site of the present Temple A, but there is no evidence to prove that it did. That this block originally formed part of a pylon is also uncertain, for it is decorated in raised relief on opposite sides and is only 90 cm. thick. The other XVIIIth Dynasty blocks which are visible re-used in this pylon also show no clear signs of having originally come from a pylon. The Osiride sculptures of Tuthmosis IV usurped by Ramesses II<sup>20</sup> might have stood more or less in their present locations during the reign of their original owner, but they might also have been brought there at the time of their usurpation. Ramesses II was certainly capable of having even large objects moved considerable distances from their original locations as part of his building programs, and it seems useful to remember that his marriage stela in the Precinct of Mut is carved from what was once part of shrine of Amenhotep II in the Precinct of Amun.<sup>21</sup> Temple A has also been labeled a temple of Amenhotep III; and, in addition to monuments originally inscribed for him before the temple, blocks of his have been reported as from, or possibly from Temple A.<sup>22</sup> It might even have been at his direction that part of the shrine of Amenhotep II was brought to the Precinct of Mut. But a definite attribution to the reign of Amenhotep III of any part of Temple A is questionable for the same reasons that its dating to Tuthmosis IV is questionable. Therefore, although Temple A may have existed in Dynasty XVIII, the physical evidence currently available only testifies to its existence starting with the reign of Ramesses II.

That Ramesses II was responsible for the construction of the present second pylon of Temple A is certain, and on the east face of the south wing of the pylon is a scene inscribed for him which forms the counterpart to the scene on the east face of the north wing cited by Porter and Moss.<sup>23</sup> The piers and side walls of the temple abutting the rear of this pylon cover parts of both those scenes.

The rooms behind the second pylon of Temple A appear to have been built at the same time. Ramesside blocks, including one with the name of Ramesses II, were re-used in their construction. With the exception of Ptolemaic additions and alterations, the decoration still adorning the walls in this part of the temple can, as we shall attempt to demonstrate in a future publication, be attributed, as Barguet has suggested, to Dynasty XXV on the basis of their style. The reliefs they most closely resemble are those of Taharqa on other monuments at Thebes; and, if it were not for the fact that so few reliefs are preserved from earlier reigns of Dynasty XXV, we would feel relatively safe in ascribing them to that king.

Temple A has been identified as a temple of Khonsu-pa-khered on the basis of a fragmentary inscription on the entrance to its central sanctuary.<sup>24</sup> In support of this identification might be cited the Ptolemaic scene on the rear wall of that sanctuary. Described in Porter and Moss as "Divinities, including goddess making *nini*, the scene shows Mut seated with her child on her lap, flanked by goddesses, one of whom is performing the ritual of making *nini*.<sup>25</sup>

Of the structures known within the precinct prior to this year's season of excavation, the least well-known is the poorly preserved building, labeled B, to the south of Temple A.<sup>26</sup> As noted by Varille, this structure clearly resembles the "High Temple" at Karnak North.<sup>27</sup> Structure B does not, as Benson and Gourlay stated, sit upon a "sand-hill".<sup>28</sup> Rather it stands on an elevation of mud brick with some of the building's walls made of that same material. Part of a seemingly Ptolemaic column drum lies on the earth which obscures part of the causeway descending to the first court of the Temple of Mut. To the south of Structure B other mud brick walls are partially visible protruding from the high rise of mound to the east of the sacred lake.



Figure 4: Chamber in the Second Pylon of the Mut Temple  
Photo: Ogden Goelet

The Mut Expedition devoted little attention to Temple C, the Temple of Ramesses III west of the lake, because its decoration has already been well published by the Epigraphic Survey of the University of Chicago.<sup>29</sup> However, it was noted that there is a mud brick wall to the west of the temple which appears to parallel the axis of the temple. This wall does not seem to be part of the present western enclosure wall which is not parallel to the axis of Temple C. The present western enclosure wall, at least at one point south of the lake where erosion has made visible its method of construction, is built of mud brick, baked brick and stone in a manner resembling that of the late walls girdling the Mut Temple. Perhaps some of these walls will eventually prove to be the remains of the walls Tiberius claimed to have built in and around the precinct.<sup>30</sup>

Between Temple C and the structure called Chapel D in the northwest sector of the precinct, Lepsius and Mariette indicated the existence of a stone gateway in a north-south brick wall, and a block of stone does project from the mound in the general area indicated for that gate on their maps.<sup>31</sup> From here the mound rises towards the north to the area just to the west of Chapel D, and it is there that we began excavation.

The decision to excavate in this area, where the mound rises to a height of about 2.7 meters above the floor level of Chapel D, was based on our desire to obtain a stratified section representing the later periods of the precinct's history. In addition, we also wished to recover the plan of Chapel D.

In the following description of the excavation the areas referred to are shown in Fig. 1. In each case the first co-ordinate references given are those of the system cited in footnote 1. The north-south and east-west co-ordinates are provided for the convenience of those readers not familiar with the co-ordinate system established for Karnak by the Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak.

The first squares opened were VII H 04 and VII H 05 (NS 2790-2800, EW 740-760). Here we uncovered the remains of two structures, whose plans indicate that they were habitations, built mainly of mud brick but with certain features, such as stairs, built partly of stone. These habitations, whose excavation will continue during the coming season, display several phases of building and rebuilding with the larger rooms of the earlier phases being later subdivided into smaller rooms. When we followed these structures towards the south into VII H 14 (NS 2780-2790, EW 740-750) we found them to have a courtyard. That at least appears to be the most probable interpretation of the 100 square meters of superimposed earthen floor levels which we found in this square. Only here were the floors relatively well preserved. Elsewhere they were mostly broken, with objects of Ptolemaic and Roman date found from bottom to top in the levels excavated. Fortunately it appears that neither the structures nor the floors are so badly damaged as to prevent, once more work has been done in them and on the objects associated with them, the retrieval of most of their plans and the dating of their various phases. At the end of the season we followed a partially preserved staircase down to what promises to be a far less disturbed floor level than those already unearthed above.

When we began to trace the habitations east into VII H 06 and VII H 16 (NS 2780-2800, EW 760-770) we thought that we might find them to end against the walls of a court before Chapel D. We discovered instead that they led in and around a stone gateway, plugged with mud brick walls, whose north wing had been incorporated into one of the houses.

This sandstone gateway, the northeast corner of which almost abuts the southwest corner of Chapel D, should be fully cleared by the end of the coming season. In the interim temporary repairs were made to support that part of the gateway already exposed. Similar repairs were also made in Chapel D.

The gateway opens from west to east. The thicknesses of both jambs are adorned with similar columns of inscription, in raised relief like the rest of the gateway's decoration, containing the erased but readable names of King Taharqa. The rear of the north wing is adorned with a partially preserved figure, presumably that of the king, above a barely preserved *sema-tawy* symbol. On the front of both wings of the gateway the decoration of the bottom register is a representation of the Niles of Upper and Lower Egypt flanking an elegant depiction of the heraldic plants of the North and South bound about the sign of union. The second register, partially preserved on the north wing, is a scene of the king and a god, presumably Amun (Fig. 5).

The scenes of the Niles are very similar to those adorning the northern door of Taharqa's colonnade between the First and Second Pylons in the Precinct of Amun.<sup>32</sup> The opening of the Taharqa Gateway in the Mut Precinct is a little over 6 meters, a span comparable to that of the main gate of the colonnade in the Amun Precinct. The north wing of the newly discovered gate is preserved to a height of 2.6 meters above its footing. However, as decorated blocks fallen from this wing have begun to come to light, it should prove possible to reconstruct more of it in the future.

The outer edges of both wings of the Mut Precinct's Taharqa Gate preserve the projections which would have fit into a brick wall, but no certain remains of such a wall have yet come to light. However, a day or so before excavation ceased for the season, we came down upon a line of bricks leading up to within a few centimeters of the southern edge of the gateway. If it appears possible that this wall will prove to have been made in connection with the Taharqa Gate, it also seems possible that it was later used, almost certainly in Roman times, as a partial foundation for a structure in baked brick. The portion of this latter structure excavated to date extends south from VII H 16 (NS 2780-2790, EW 760-770) into VII H 26 and VII H 27 (NS 2770-2780, EW 760-780). In VII H 27 it abuts a fragmentary wall of sandstone. The date and nature of this wall (indicated in Fig. 1), visible without excavation, remain to be determined. That it was erected no earlier than the reign of King Ramesses II is demonstrated by the re-use in its construction of a block bearing his name. Preserved against the north end of this wall is a small area of stone paving upon which still stands the lower part of a badly damaged statue of Sakhmet facing north.



Figure 5:  
Facade of the  
North Wing of  
the Taharqa Gate  
Photo:  
David Loggie

The discovery of the Taharqa Gateway calls to mind the inscriptions in the Mut Temple's "Crypt of Taharqa" and Leclant's suggestion that a colonnade of this king which may have existed in the Mut Precinct could have been dismantled at the time of the construction of the Ptolemaic structures before the Mut Temple.<sup>33</sup> Was the Taharqa Gate part of such a colonnade? Could the column drums re-used in the structure before the west wing of the first pylon of the Mut Temple have come from such a colonnade? Unfortunately, excavation in VII H 07 (NS 2790-2800, EW 770-780), the area just to the rear of the gate and before Chapel D, has so far not provided answers to these questions because the area was found to have been hacked up considerably in antiquity. Less disturbed strata may remain to be found, however, and excavation will be continued in this area next season. Prior to that time, and considering what we believe with Barguet to be the correct dating for most of Temple A, it appears reasonable to state that the evidence currently available indicates that ambitious building programs were undertaken within the Precinct of Mut during the XXVth Dynasty.

During the past season the Expedition also cleared most of Chapel D. This building proved, as can be seen in the somewhat simplified plan in Fig. 1, to be a chapel with three rooms. In most respects it resembles the reconstruction drawn by Nestor L'Hôte in 1838-1839.<sup>34</sup> The two rear rooms are probably the work of Ptolemy VI for, although only the name Ptolemy with the epithets *ankh djet mery Ptah* is now preserved on a wall, Ptolemy VI's names do appear on a ceiling block lying to the west of this part of the chapel.<sup>35</sup> The description in Porter and Moss of the scene on the east wall of the first of the two rooms is correct but for the fact that the last figure of a god mentioned appears to be a figure of a goddess.<sup>36</sup> All the wall decoration in this part of the chapel is in raised relief whereas the vestibule is decorated in sunk relief. One stray block, bearing inscriptions mentioning Mut and Sakhmet, presumably comes from one of the walls dividing the vestibule from the rear of the chapel because it is decorated on opposite sides in raised and sunk relief.

The vestibule with two columns was built by Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II. Its western wall bears, in contrast to the description given in Porter and Moss,<sup>37</sup> the following decoration: At the extreme left is a figure of Ptolemy VIII, facing right and holding the crook and flail, accompanied by an inscription mentioning his appearance as king and his illuminating the house of his father, Amun. This is followed by a representation of the king, crowned by two goddesses. Then come two other goddesses, most probably Mut and Sakhmet, facing left. The final scene is a depiction of Ptolemy VIII who, followed by Cleopatra II, offers a *wesekh*-collar to Amun, Mut and Khonsu (Fig. 6). Below these figures runs a damaged inscription which describes the making of a monument, presumably this vestibule, by Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II.

On the interior of the front west wall of Chapel D is the representation of a king and goddess engaged in one of the rituals associated with the foundation of a temple. On the exterior of this preserved portion of the façade there is, in addition to inscriptions mentioning Ptolemy VIII, Cleopatra II, another Ptolemy and an Arsinoë, a representation of a male figure, presumably the king, before Mut. We found no trace of the evidence cited by Barguet for identifying the name of this chapel.<sup>38</sup>

The vestibule of Chapel D has a foundation consisting of two courses of sandstone blocks, together a bit over a meter in thickness, resting upon a bed of sand approximately 15 centimeters in depth. The foundations of the two rear rooms of the Chapel remain to be investigated.

## 2. Work in the Theban Necropolis

As part of its study of monuments related to the Precinct of Mut, in 1976 the Expedition began recording Theban Tomb 59.<sup>39</sup> This tomb is decorated for a man named Ken who had the title High Priest of Mut. We hope to complete our work in this tomb during the coming year.

In January and February of 1975 The Brooklyn Museum, under the auspices of the American Research Center in Egypt and with funding from the Foreign Currency Program of the Smithsonian Institution, undertook a study to determine the feasibility of clearing, recording and conserving the tomb of King Ramesses II in the Valley of the Kings. The Project's staff consisted of Bernard V. Bothmer (Principal Investigator), Richard Fazzini (Field Investigator) and Ulrich K. Hahn, a mining engineer who served as Technical advisor. The work of the project was greatly assisted by various representatives of the Department of Antiquities and the following individuals: Dr. Hassan El-Ashiry, Mr. John Dimick, Dr. William Murnane, Mr. John Romer, Mr. John Ross and Mr. Frank Yurco.

During the course of this study we discovered that there was a bed of shale running through the tomb at the level of the floor of the burial chamber, and we concluded that it was probably the expansion and contraction of this shale during alternate periods of flooding and drying that had caused the major portion of the damage observed to have occurred in the tomb. The main result of the feasibility study, in addition to certain archaeological observations such as those listed immediately below, was the conclusion that more technical studies would be needed before one could contemplate clearing the tomb without causing more damage to it.

The lettering system used to identify the rooms in the tomb is that of Porter and Moss.<sup>40</sup> The references to Lepsius and Lefébure cited may also be found in that publication.

Corridor A. There is a cross carved high up on the south wall.

Corridor C. This corridor has the stairs indicated in Lepsius' plan of the tomb but generally omitted in later plans.

Chamber D. The relief decoration in the shaft was observed to have been recarved at least once.



Figure 6: The Vestibule of Chapel D, prior to excavation  
Photo: Ogden Goelet

Chamber F. This room has the four pillars indicated by Lepsius and Lefébure rather than the two pillars indicated in many published plans of the tomb.

Chamber K. Thomas' suggestion<sup>41</sup> that K probably had the four niches known from certain other royal tombs is correct: they are all visible. Just outside the door to Chamber N we discovered a small portion of what is probably the continuation along the eastern wall of K of the cornice along the northern wall indicated in Lepsius' plan of the tomb. Part of the northern portion of this cornice is still visible in an old sounding. The vault of K still bears the traces of a line of inscription rendered in red outlines.

Chamber N. Only the lower portion of the Osiride figure in the niche in the center of the rear wall is still preserved. Within N we also found a stray fragment of a relief representation of two boxes, one above the other, each surmounted by feathers; a motif with parallels in the tomb of Sety I.<sup>42</sup>

Chamber P. The remains of the two pillars indicated in the plans of Lepsius and Lefébure are still visible. The northern and eastern sides of one are each adorned with a representation of Osiris. The face of one of these figures may have been deliberately mutilated. On the south face of the same pillar are traces of what appears to have been a representation of Re-Horakhty.

Work in the tomb of King Ramesses II was carried several steps forward in December of 1976 and January of 1977. James Manning, John Rutherford and David Loggie of the Mut Expedition, with the assistance of John Romer and a number of Egyptian and American geologists from the Conoco-Marathon Group (currently engaged in petroleum exploration in the Arab Republic of Egypt) conducted further technical investigations within the tomb and added greatly to the existing collection of photographs of the tomb. They also examined other monuments in the Valley of the Kings to ascertain if the physical conditions threatening the tomb of King Ramesses II were present in the rest of the valley.

The results of the technical studies conducted to date in the Valley of the Kings, supplemented by tests and research done since our return from the field, have demonstrated that the future preservation of the monuments in this part of the Theban Royal Necropolis is threatened by a number of factors, some known and some yet to be determined. They have also shown that a major investigation of the area must be undertaken to determine the condition of all the monuments in the valley and to identify all factors liable to cause damage to them. The initial phases of this work, the results of which should provide the basis for planning a program of work aimed at making it possible to record and preserve the monuments of the Theban Royal Necropolis, are scheduled to begin during the coming winter. We have named this undertaking, which will entail archaeological and physical surveys of the area, the Theban Royal Tomb Project. It and the Mut Expedition now form the two halves of what we have named The Brooklyn Museum Theban Expedition.

The work of the Theban Expedition will be made possible by the generous support of the Friends of Mut, now the Friends of Thebes, and the Coca-Cola Company, Atlanta, Georgia. We are most grateful to them for the confidence they have shown in us and for the concern they have displayed for the monuments of Thebes on both the East and West Banks of the Nile.

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3. *ZÄS* 102 (1975), p. 82.
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6. Benson and Gourlay, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
7. Haeny, *op. cit.*
8. B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings II. Theban Temples*, 2nd ed., rev. and aug. (Oxford, 1972), pp. 262-263.
9. Benson and Gourlay, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
10. Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-259.
11. Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-272.
12. Pillet, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
13. *Archiv Orientální* 20 (1952), p. 92.
14. G. Gaballa, *Narrative in Egyptian Art* (Mainz, 1976), p. 54.
15. F. Daumas, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens* (Paris, 1958), p. 51.
16. J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV<sup>e</sup> dynastie dite éthiopienne* (Cairo, 1965), p. 118.
17. P. Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak. Essai d'exégèse* (Cairo, 1962), pp. 9-10.
18. Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
19. L. Borchardt, *Aegyptische Tempel mit Umgang* (Cairo, 1938), p. 6.
20. Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 271, indicates, as is not the case, that these Osiride statues were also usurped by Nectanebo I. Pillet, *op. cit.*, p. 17, already suggested that these statues were not in their original position.
21. G. Björkman, *Kings at Karnak. A Study of the Treatment of the Monuments of the Royal Predecessors in the Early New Kingdom* (Uppsala, 1971), pp. 107 and 137.
22. Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-272.
23. Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 272, (13) and (14).
24. Daumas, *op. cit.*
25. Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 272, (21).
26. Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
27. A. Varille, *Karnak I* (Cairo, 1943), p. 33.
28. Benson and Gourlay, *op. cit.*, p. 288.
29. Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-274.
30. e.g., H. Blok in *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Bevordering der Kennis van de Antieke Beschaving* 4, No. 2 (Dec., 1929), pp. 6-8.
31. *LD* I, pl. 74; Mariette, *Karnak* (Leipzig, 1875), pl. 3.
32. *Kemi* 20 (1970), pl. XVIII, following p. 136, and fig. 28 opp. p. 148.
33. Leclant, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
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35. Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 275.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. Barguet, *op. cit.*
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1977 ANNUAL MEETING ABSTRACTS

In NEWSLETTER NOS. 99/100, we published the abstracts of papers read at our last Annual meeting dealing with ancient Egyptian topics. We are pleased to present below abstracts of papers read in the medieval sections.

Egypt Under the 'Abbasids: An Assessment of the Sources

Michael Dunn  
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Despite increasing scholarly interest in many periods of the early Islamic history of Egypt, few studies have dealt with the country as a province of the Caliphate. Nor have we many detailed histories of any provinces in the 'Abbasid period. Yet the wealth of historical, geographic, biographical, and other materials -- including the famous papyri -- make such a history possible. The present paper is merely a survey of the sources and an analysis of their respective value for this period of Egyptian history (to the time of Ibn Tulun). It is argued that we need not neglect the history of the Provinces of the Caliphate merely because our sources are less full than they might be. In the case of Egypt much information may be adduced, illuminating the history of the Caliphate as a whole, the role of Egypt therein, and the foundations of the Tulunid state. This paper represents a bibliographic survey of sources and is part of a larger study of Egypt under the Caliphate.

Tulunid Administration of Agriculture and Land Tax

Gladys Frantz  
University of Michigan

The increase in the state revenues under Ahmad ibn Tulun (reputedly from 800,000 to 4,300,000 dinars) was accomplished by effective collection of the kharaj through direct governmental administration of agriculture and by the pacification of areas refusing to pay the land tax.

Administration of state-land was carried out by two powerful interested parties: the Diwan al-Kharaj in Fustat, representing the state, and the contractors. The Tax Bureau granted contracts and collected taxes; the contractors undertook the actual exploitation of the land and profited by their position as middlemen.

Tax officials in the Diwan al-Kharaj were able to use tax revenue and themselves buy lucrative contracts for large areas of rich agricultural lands, thereby becoming wealthy landlords. As tax officials, they represented the state's interests and as contractors their own. The role of these two overlapping power groups in the administration of agriculture and tax collection will be detailed based on a study of the available papyri, biographical dictionaries, administrative treatises, and narrative histories.

Production of Dinārs during the First Five Years of Fatimid Domination in Egypt

Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz  
University of Michigan

An examination of dinārs struck in A.H. 358-362 by the mint of Egypt (Misr) leads to some interesting conclusions concerning the production of gold coinage by the Fatimids immediately after Jawhar's conquest of the Delta. The examined sample consisted of thirty-three specimens, nine of which showed the usual specification of the year of striking, and twenty-four showing the name of the month besides the year specification. The appearance of the name of the month in the legends constituted a Fatimid innovation which has proved extremely significant for the purpose of the present investigation. By tabulating the monthly distribution of these specimens it has become evident that the Fatimid mint of Egypt during those initial years did not strike dinārs continuously but at regular intervals of several months. Such a controlled system of production indicates a normal level of demand and supply of gold coins. On the other hand, should there have been some unusual demand for supply of dinārs during the intermittent 'idle' periods it could be met with the use of the special 'monthless' coin dies.

The impression about the lack of any intensity in the production of new dinārs has been confirmed by the computation of the ratio of the coin dies to the links in the monthly/annual samples. The Neutron Activation Analysis of some of the specimens has not revealed any significant improvement in the standard of fineness.

In the light of such numismatic evidence it appears that, contrary to Jawhar's alleged pledge, supposedly made at the time of Egypt's surrender, no dramatic improvement of increase in the production of gold coinage came in the immediate wake of Fatimid victory.

Fatimid Jewelry  
Marilyn Jenkins

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Fatimid jewelry is one of the very few types of medieval Islamic jewelry which can confidently be placed in time and space. This lecture will explain how a firm context can be determined for this type of jewelry and will illustrate the techniques and decorative devices peculiar to several groups within this type. Finally, we will discuss the influences exerted by this Fatimid tradition on Islamic jewelry from other countries and periods.

A Preliminary Survey of Patterns in Wood and Linen Textiles Attributed to the Tulunid Dynasty in Egypt, 868-905 A.D.

Louise W. Mackie  
The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

With the beginning of the Tulunid Dynasty (868-905 A.D.), Ahmad ibn Tulun established a period of near autonomy and welcomed prosperity in Egypt. The manufacture of textiles continued to be the major industry and many Egyptians were involved in some aspect of their production, either preparing the fibers, especially flax, weaving or distributing the woven fabrics. Textiles served several purposes: functional, social, and economic. They were status symbols as well as a secure way of saving.

Ahmad ibn Tulun introduced a new artistic style that he brought with him from the city of Samarra which served as the Abbasid capital near Baghdad from 836-883. Today, the distinctive Tulunid style is primarily visible in the non-figural patterns in the Mosque of Ibn Tulun. Figural patterns have survived almost exclusively in a little known group of wool and linen tapestry-woven textiles which are the focus of this presentation.

The wool and linen tapestry-woven textiles are distinctive in their style of drawing and use of color. The Tulunid style in textiles is the result of applying the Samarra decorative styles, especially the bevelled style, to woven fabrics. The style of drawing is both bold and direct -- and simplified and abstract. There are large areas of solid color. The effect produced is one of vigor and strength. The concept of horror vacui does not exist, as it does in the so-called Coptic textiles that are contemporary. Foreground and background are often given equal values, an effect which is partially achieved by the use of certain somber colors. Mustard, olive-green, blue-green, dark blue, and ivory dominate. Red and brown are sometimes present. The colored fibers are wool, the ivory fibers are undyed linen.

Although the drawing style came from Samarra, most of the iconography already existed in the Egyptian design repertoire. The Tulunid patterns incorporate elements of Roman, Coptic, Byzantine, Sasanian and Umayyad patterns as well as native Egyptian subjects, such as the hippopotamus. Very few patterns appear to have been directly influenced by Samarra, the most extraordinary example being a woven version of a bevelled pattern in a stucco wall of a Samarra house.

These wool and linen tapestry-woven textiles are attributed to the Tulunid Dynasty on stylistic grounds. Their style of drawing and use of color are distinctive and cannot be associated with any earlier art in Egypt. How long the style continued into the 10th century, once established, is uncertain. The bold style, however, strongly suggest a pre-Fatimid date (pre 969). The hundred of Fatimid textiles woven with linen and silk have small delicate patterns. Larger versions of these Fatimid patterns occasionally survive in woolen textiles which probably succeeded the patterns in these Tulunid textiles.

A Preliminary Survey of Patterns in Wood and Linen Textiles Attributed to the Tulunid Dynasty in Egypt, 868-905 A.D.  
(continued)

The function of these fragments is suggested by the treatment of their warps, either paired or plied. Those with paired linen warps were small pattern areas woven in a large, white, plain-weave fabric that may have been a robe or covering. Those with plied linen warps were probably hangings, which is corroborated by the larger scale of the drawing.

Textiles with wool were woven primarily in Middle and Upper Egypt which had separate weaving traditions from Lower Egypt. Several Tulunid textiles with the inhabited vine pattern are inscribed with their place of manufacture, Bahnasa, an important weaving center in the Fayyum in Middle Egypt. Whether this entire group of wool and linen textiles was woven there remains unknown.

The numerous bird and animal, and occasional human, representations in these textiles indicate the existence of a strong figural tradition during the Tulunid Dynasty that does not survive in other media. During that time, textiles were a major economic strength within the society. Today, these textiles serve another extremely valuable function. They exhibit an otherwise lost Tulunid figural style.

Far and Near Eastern Blue-on-White Ceramics in Egypt  
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San Diego State University

More frequently than not, excavations of medieval sites in Egypt have yielded both Far Eastern Blue-on-White porcelains and earthenware imitations of them made in the Near East. Many of both wares have been published, but the dates and key features of the Near Eastern material are not yet clearly identified. One reason for the paucity of absolute information is that the Far Eastern data, essential for useful interpretation of the Near Eastern material, has come to light only recently.

I should like to present recent Far Eastern information which can be viewed as reliable for establishing the style and dating of Near Eastern Blue-on-Whites. Material from finds in Egypt is significant enough in number and varied enough in types to serve as the basis of a comparative study and a beginning classification of the Islamic Blue-on-Whites.

Puzzling Aspects of the Design of Mamluk Carpets  
 Manuel Keene  
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art

This paper will focus on certain heretofore undiscovered elements of the layout and motifs of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Cairene carpets of the classic Mamluk type. The most intriguing of these design elements, and those on which the author will speak in most detail are two infinite-repetition star patterns which appear on a small but important and fine group of the carpets. What is suggestive about the appearance of these patterns on the carpets is the fact that both of the patterns are of great rarity in Egyptian usage (one is of Western Islamic type, while the other originated and saw most of its usage in Iran), apparently being confined, aside from these carpets, to architectural ornament between the years 1466 and 1472-74. Although it is known (from the account of the Italian traveler Barbaro) that there was a carpet industry in Cairo in 1474, no actual extant Cairene carpets have heretofore been attributed to such an early period by any scholar. The paper here synopsized does not make such an attribution, partly because the group of carpets which have one or both of these patterns (notably including the Granada Museum fragments, the Textile Museum's fragment with the blazon, the Metropolitan Museum's "Barbieri" and "Simonetti" carpets, the Vienna silk carpet and others) seem closely related to other carpets which have elements which have been considered as transitional toward the Ottoman style. But because of the thoroughness of the author's documentation of geometric patterns, particularly for Egypt, he feels that the curious temporal limits of these two patterns' usage in Egypt should be taken into account by anyone who would work on the chronology of these fascinating carpets.

Cataloguing Arabic Manuscripts: Arabic Palaeography Today  
 Dimitri Gutas  
 Yale University

The remarks presented in the paper have their origin in the need to adopt a methodological orientation in connection with an ARCE project to catalogue the philosophical manuscripts in the Dar al-Kutub in Cairo.

In order to be of maximum usefulness, a catalogue of Arabic manuscripts should benefit fully from all the information that Arabic palaeography can provide. By Arabic palaeography should be meant the study of the physical generation and transmission of Arabic manuscripts for the purpose of establishing the relative reliability of each text and the degree of its closeness to the autograph of the author. This study is divided into two parts. The first, or palaeography proper, entails an examination of the paper, binding, and type of writing of the manuscript, and an investigation into its scribe, date, and place of copying. The second part, or the study of the history of the texts, consists of establishing the life-history of each individual manuscript:

Cataloguing Arabic Manuscripts: Arabic Palaeography Today  
 (continued)

from what original and for whom it was copied, where and how and by whom it was used, including a list of its owners, down to its acquisition by the library where it is housed at the present. Arabic calligraphy is not included in Arabic palaeography.

Scholarly research on Arabic palaeography has been uneven. Arabic papyrology and the study of early manuscripts in Kufic script have received most of the attention; we possess substantial contributions in these two fields, mainly in the works of Abbott and Grohmann. With regard to later manuscripts in non-Kufic script, which form the vast majority of surviving Arabic manuscripts, studies on either of the parts of Arabic palaeography described above are sorely lacking. There are no palaeographic albums or lists of scribes to speak of, and scarcely any studies on oriental paper, use of western, water-marked, paper in the Near East, bookbinding, or dating techniques (orthography, lists of owner, etc.). On the other hand, an important first step in the serious study of the history of texts was made with the recent (1976) publication of R. Sellheim's Arabische HSS. Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte. Scholars are urged to devote more attention to Arabic palaeography.

The importance of palaeographical data for a correct and useful description of a manuscript in a catalogue is illustrated by a few examples from Cairo philosophical manuscripts.

The Fatimid Palaces of Cairo  
 Jonathan M. Bloom  
 Harvard University

The great palaces built by the Fatimid Dynasty in Cairo no longer exist, yet from literary sources (e.g. Nasir-i Khusraw's Sefer-nameh, William of Tyre's Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum, and al-Maqrizi's Khitat) we are able to learn much about them. The palaces were of unequalled splendor in the contemporary world, and seem to have drawn their inspiration from either accidental contact by the Fatimids with other palace traditions (e.g. Aghlabid Ifriqiyyah) or conscious assumption of Abbasid and Byzantine court practices and ceremonial. The sources do not give us a very clear idea of the physical aspect of the palaces, which suggests that, to the contemporary mind, the forms were defined by the activities which took place within them. All these activities seem to have had the primary purpose of impressing an audience -- be it local Egyptian, Abbasid, or Byzantine -- by turning to the arts of the contemporary world as a source for the expression of the Fatimids' newly-acquired power.

The Expansion and Decline of Cairo  
Under the Mamluks and its Background  
David Ayalon  
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The expansion of Cairo under the Mamluks is without precedent in the history of Egypt. This expansion, however, was not even, neither was it continuous. The person mainly responsible for it was al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalaun, during his third reign (1309-1341). During his reign, the Egyptian capital reached dimensions never reached before and never after until Khedive Ismail embarked on his ambitious scheme of building modern Cairo, which had been carried out under completely different conditions and by completely different technological means. This unique expansion had yet another unique feature. Immediately after the death of that Sultan, building activity came abruptly almost to a standstill, and, within a number of decades, a process of accelerated decline and physical shrinkage of the town set in, until, at the beginning of the fifteenth century Cairo, had become a depressing reminder of its glorious and quite recent past. Such a combination of an immense rapid expansion followed so soon by an almost as rapid decline, is extremely rare in the history of important urban centers.

What were the causes of both the expansion and the decline? We may not know all of them, but some of them are discernible, and they are connected, to a great extent, with the personality of al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalaun.

Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalaun was not himself a Mamluk, but the son of a Mamluk. From the inception of the Mamluk Sultanate until al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalaun's third reign a pattern of succession to the throne had developed, in which the sons of the Mamluk Sultans - most of whom had still been children, or very young - served as temporary puppet Sultans, and were destined to be replaced quite quickly by real Mamluks. When al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalaun was given the opportunity of ascending the throne for the third time, he came to Cairo with the unflinching and bitter determination that he would not be humiliated again by being dethroned, and that he would prove to be the greatest ruler, at least in the history of the Mamluk Sultanate.

Al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalaun missed the opportunity of going down in history as a great soldier, for the period of the wars against the Crusaders and the Mongols had already been over. So he seized upon the only other outlet to greatness left to him, namely, building. The important aspect of his policy of building was that he did not confine it to Royal or State construction, but set out an example to, and even called and urged, the whole Mamluk society, and very great sections of the civilian population, particularly that of Cairo, to embark on building. The public responded to this call with unprecedented zeal, and building in Cairo and its suburbs proceeded on a hitherto unknown scale. An enormous gap was thus created between the dimensions of the construction and the available financial means for carrying out that construction and, even more so, for its long-range maintenance.

The Expansion and Decline of Cairo Under the Mamluks and its Background  
(continued)

Simultaneously with the building drive, al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalaun ruthlessly consolidated his personal rule. He achieved this by pulverizing Mamluk society and by thoroughly corrupting it. He broke many of the major healthy and well-tried principles on which that society had been based. The outward prosperity and calm, so characteristic of his reign, were very misleading. There are very clear indications during that reign of an accumulation of strains and stresses resulting from indiscriminate spending, corruption and unprecedented extortions, almost to the breaking point.

No wonder, therefore, that the sudden death of al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalaun threw, literally overnight, the whole realm into terrible chaos. The artificial curbs put by that Sultan's iron will on the evils accumulated during his long reign were removed, and those evils burst out unbridled. The chroniclers' account of the years following that Sultan's death bear unequivocal testimony to the disruption of both government and economy, a situation which had been greatly aggravated by natural disasters, particularly the Great Plague.

Even al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalaun's productive projects, mainly in the field of agriculture, ultimately accelerated the economic decline. First of all, because they were carried out with utter disregard to financial considerations, and secondly, because they were either destroyed or badly damaged much before the overhead expenditure on them could be covered. This was particularly true of the irrigation system of Egypt, which is very sensitive and which can not function properly without a superb supervision of the whole system. Furthermore, the nomads, whose loyalty and cooperation al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalaun bought, became extremely powerful and unruly, causing immeasurable damage to Egypt's agriculture in general and to its irrigation system in particular.

Whereas the steady decline of the Sultanate's economy is easily discernible since the last decade of al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalaun's rule onward, the physical shrinkage of the capital and of numerous other towns and habitations had been delayed, for a number of decades, for the simple reason that between the beginning of a process of economic deterioration and the actual abandonment and consequent ruin of houses, streets and quarters a comparatively long time had to pass. This led Mamluk historians to attribute to later Sultans, in whose time the actual shrinkage took place, a much bigger share than they deserve in that deterioration (they had a very big share, anyhow).

COLLABORATION IN EDITING: AVERROES'  
MIDDLE COMMENTARIES ON ARISTOTLE'S ORGANON

Charles E. Butterworth  
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Thanks to the generous assistance of the American Research Center in Egypt, the American Philosophical Society, and the University of Maryland, Arabic editions of Averroes' Middle Commentaries on Aristotle's Organon are now being prepared for publication. For a number of reasons, the endeavor is unique.

Above all, it represents the first comprehensive attempt to edit the Arabic version of a whole series of commentaries by Averroes. Despite many suggestions about the need for scholarly editions of Averroes' works, Wolfson's Medieval Academy of America project never succeeded in editing more than two or three Arabic texts. This project will lead to editions of Arabic text of all the Middle Commentaries on Aristotle's Organon written by Averroes. In other words, it will result in the edition and publication, in Arabic, of his Middle Commentaries on the Categories, De Interpretatione, Prior Analytics, Posterior Analytics, Topics, Sophistics, Rhetoric, and Poetics. Although some of these works have been edited before (the Categories, Sophistics, Rhetoric, and Poetics) the discovery of new manuscripts as well as of errors in the extant editions justify the new editions.

Secondly, the project represents a unique approach to international scholarly cooperation. Professor Mahmoud Kassem of Dar al-Ulum College in Cairo was working on the editions of the first four volumes in this series prior to his death in 1973. In 1975, I began to complete and revise his work with the help of a student who had worked closely with Dr. Kassem on the editing task. About a year later, differences in opinion about critical standards made further collaboration impossible, and this person graciously withdrew from the project.

This experience, clearly illustrates the need to choose collaborators with care. Because I assumed that anyone who had worked with Professor Kassem at an earlier stage of the project would be above reproach, I did not examine the editing skills of this person carefully enough. That was a serious mistake. Before entering into a collaborative endeavor with anyone, it is necessary to learn about the person's skills and work habits. The best way to do this, it seems to me, is to edit a dozen pages with the prospective collaborator in order to discover his skills and work habits. Such preliminary testing is above all essential if the principal investigator does not intend to be in the host country during the whole period of time required to complete the project.

The first collaborator was subsequently replaced by two Egyptian scholars with extensive editing experience and high standards of accuracy. Thus, despite an interim snag, the project is a good example of international collaboration from its inception to its present point. The Egyptian colleagues bring sound editing practices to the task, whereas I bring to it a sense of what Orientalists require in a critical text. We now find ourselves throwing our international net over even wider circles. As our editing progressed, we learned of the existence of new manuscripts in Iran. Our discoveries were due partly to our own efforts and partly to suggestions offered by Iraqi and Libyan colleagues. To obtain microfilms of these manuscripts, we have enlisted the help of Iranian scholars.

This project is unique in that it promises to go beyond its original boundaries in two directions. As news of our interim success has reached the ears of other scholars, some individuals have contacted me to request assistance with their editions of other texts in the general area of medieval Islamic philosophy. For example, we will soon publish an edition of Averroes' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's De Anima, a text that exists only in Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts. And following that, we will turn our attention to publishing an edition of Farabi's summary of Plato's Laws.

Finally, the Arabic editions of the Middle Commentaries on Aristotle's Organon are now being translated into English. The National Endowment for the Humanities has graciously agreed to sponsor this phase of the project, thus permitting us to bring Averroes' logical writings to a wider audience.

An Early Fatimid Source on the Authorship of the Rasā'il Ikhwān Al-Safā

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The great encyclopedic work of Medieval Islam, Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā has been described as Mu'tazilite, Sunni, Sufi, Shi'ite, Isma'ili or Qarmatian. Its Fatimid character is now no longer in dispute (see art. "Ikhwān al-safā" in E.I.2). Various dates have been suggested for its composition, ranging from 350/961 to 557/1162. The most tenacious theory about the authorship of the Rasā'il and its time of composition is the one derived from Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī (320-414/932-1023) who is supposed to have given a contemporary evidence. I have, however, refuted this theory in a recent article awaiting publication.

In this paper, I would like to put forth the information given by the Dā'ī Ja'far b. Mansūr al-Yaman in his biography of his father entitled Sfrat Ibn Hawshab. Dā'ī Ja'far had seen the pre-Caliphate days of the Fatimid movement and was a contemporary of the first four Fatimid Caliphs.

Dā'ī Ja'far's testimony is corroborated by the internal references in the Rasā'il indicating the time of its composition. I am inclined to place the composition of the Rasā'il sometime between 260/875 and 297/909 by a group of authors working under the direction of a Fatimid Imam of the Satr period. Thus, according to this view, the Rasā'il became the ideological exponent of the movement for the establishment of the Fatimid Caliphate.

Sufi Khanqāhs of Cairo during the Mamluk Period:  
Seats of Mystic Contemplation or Civilian Politics?  
 Carl Petry  
 Northwestern University

The appearance of Sufi communal-monastic houses in the central Islamic world during the later Middle Ages is widely known. These houses (*khanqāhs*), however, have not been studied as distinct institutions or in terms of their functions within the literary elites of major cities. Indeed, these institutions are mentioned only in conjunction with Sufism as a spiritual tradition. During my studies of the religio-academic establishment of Cairo during the Mamluk period, I encountered such repeated reference to several *khanqāhs* (*Sa'id al-Su'ada'*, Baybarsiya, Shaykhuniya, Siyaqus) in contemporary biographical literature that I became convinced of their prominence and influence in a much broader context than mystic contemplation and isolation from the world. This paper outlines concrete evidence for the extremely broad representation of all major constituencies of the '*ulamā'* class residing in or associating with these institutions while active in their careers. Moreover, the major *khanqāhs* of the city also attracted a distinct Mamluk element consisting of both in-service and retired troopers and amirs.

The issue of a resident community composed of both civilian '*ulamā'* and military officers raises the central, albeit tentative issue of this inquiry. The standard political analyses of later medieval Egypt promote the image of an imperial system which exercised an effective political monopoly, relegating the civilian elite to essentially procedural administrative duties. Given the basic validity of this image with respect to ultimate authority, it may depict the civilian elite component of Egyptian society as more passive and politically inert than it actually was. This essay raises a number of questions about the major *khanqāhs* as seats of civilian politics and even possible resistance to the Mamluk monopoly. It emphasizes the phenomenon of the *khanqāhs*' relative immunity from *waqf* alienation, their activities during times of political crisis and their function as a forum for '*ulamā*'-Mamluk association outside the administrative bureaucracy -- which the latter dominated.

Types of Qur'ān Recitation Sessions in Cairo  
 Frederick M. Denny  
 University of Virginia

Among the various contexts of Qur'ānic recitation, the group session (*maqra'*) continues to hold a centrally important position, both officially and unofficially, in contemporary Cairene practice. In this presentation, four types of *maqra'* will be described, analyzed and compared: 1) a prestigious, official, "professional" one; 2) a prestigious, official, "non-professional" one; 3) a semi-private, unofficial session for training; 4) a public, unofficial session of both learners and "professionals." Tapes will be used to illustrate significant points.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC TREATMENT OF BILINGUALISM IN EGYPT  
 Aleya Rouchdy  
 Wayne State University

This research was conducted during the summers of 1975 and 1976 in Cairo. My purpose was to examine bilingualism in Egypt. As a linguist, I am interested in second language acquisition as a mechanism of linguistic change and, also, in the social factors that make bilingualism an important feature in a country which is monolingual by definition.

Thus, this study deals with bilingualism as a linguistic, as well as a cultural, phenomenon. It is research on bilingualism and uniculturalism, wherein the speaker learns a foreign language in his own culture. The purpose will be to attempt to determine how an Egyptian becomes bilingual, and when and why he/she learns a second or even a third language. In attempting to answer these questions, I began by examining the Egyptian educational system and, specifically, the teaching of foreign languages in both the public and private schools, before and after 1952. Next, I interviewed different types of bilingual speakers:

a) Compound bilinguals who grew up in an environment where two different languages were used; these are referred to as communicative bilinguals.

b) Coordinate bilinguals who learned their languages in different contexts. The coordinate bilingual is referred to as non-communicative bilingual who learned his/her second language at school or at home from one person. Increased motivation improves changes for the individual to become a communicative bilingual.

Both types of bilinguals have a common point in that they are also bilingual mirrors, an aspect they share with monolingual speakers. In this case of bilingualism interference occurs on the language level and is only noticeable by observers who know the languages in contact. This study examines interference that occurs on the speech level of the bilinguals rather than on the language level.

While interviewing the bilingual speakers, several factors were taken into consideration, such as the place where the languages were learned, the manner of acquisition, the age of learning, and the motivation for learning.

#### I. Linguistic Factors

Interference on the phonological, syntactic and lexical levels varies among bilinguals according to the type of education they have received or the persons they are addressing.

Phonological interference can result in what is commonly referred to as a "foreign accent." In this study, it was noticed that the bilinguals had phonological interference on the performance level.

Syntactic interference in the second language was apparent especially among bilinguals who learned a foreign language in public Arabic schools and where the first language at home is Arabic. Lexical interference was the most apparent and the most frequent. In most of the cases examined, the bilingual retained the borrowed item without translation, a case of calque, which did not affect the structure of the borrowing language.

Thus, by examining bilingual speakers and by looking at bilingualism as a mechanism of linguistic changes, one can conclude that there are intentional as well as non-intentional interferences on the phonological, syntactic, and lexical levels. The changes are not so profound as to affect the competence of the speakers in either the first or second language.

## II. Social Factors

By definition, Egypt is a monolingual country. A sociolinguist who is unfamiliar with the setting will, accordingly, maintain that bilingualism in Egypt is not an issue. But, as he becomes familiar with the social setting he will soon realize how important bilingualism is and the role it plays within and among the different social strata. An important point is not how many languages a person speaks, but which languages they are. There are rules of speech and a specific type of performance available to members of the different social groups. The speaker's usage of rules and his performance depends on the function he has to perform in his social setting.

Similar to the linguistic factors, the social factors were examined prior to and following 1952. Before 1952, one can say that there was a correlation between bilingualism and social class, but after 1952 it can be noted that bilingualism is correlated to status rather than class.

After examining the different linguistic and cultural aspects that are related to bilingualism, I concluded that in Egypt bilingualism is a particular imposition thrust upon the individual by the society and not a matter of personal decision.

This study is meant to stimulate further research within the general area of second language acquisition in Egypt as well as comparative studies of how the status of bilingualism differs between developed and developing nations.

مركز البحوث للغات عربية مصر

## THE AMARNA PERIOD OF EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY EGYPT BIBLIOGRAPHY SUPPLEMENT 1976

by Edward K. Werner, Yale University

This is the second in a series of annual supplements to "The Amarna Period of Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt--A Bibliography: 1965-1974" which appeared in the ARCE Newsletter No. 95. The purpose of this supplement is twofold: 1) it attempts to update the original bibliography and first supplement with pertinent books and articles published during 1976, and 2) it provides the opportunity to incorporate items published during the 1965-1975 period of previous coverage but which were missed. As always, readers are invited to submit any titles which may have thus far been omitted. For the purpose of this continuing bibliography, the Amarna Period is defined as the reigns of Akhenaten and Smenkhkare.

The materials included in this bibliography supplement have been classified into the same seven major subject divisions which were used in the original bibliography. The divisions are: (A) Akhenaten, Smenkhkare, and the Amarna Revolution; (B) Religion; (C) The Role of Nefertiti; (D) Pathological Studies and the Occupant of Valley Tomb No. 55; (E) Art; (F) Excavations and the Akhenaten Temple Project; and (G) Language and Writing (Including the Amarna Letters). Some titles appear in several divisions.

The seven major divisions are designated by capital letters, and each entry within is numbered consecutively, with capital letter prefix, without regard to subdivision. Citations are identified in the indexes by this code, rather than by pagination. Each major subject division is subdivided according to media form in the following order: Books, Journal Articles, Magazine Articles, Special Articles, and Book Reviews.

The book review division is a new feature originally suggested by E. L. Ertman. Reviews will not be annotated, but will include the reference code for the book under discussion to enable the user to refer to the original citation in the bibliography. Henceforth any reference within the body of a citation will be prefaced by a year code, e.g. 74 for the original bibliography, and 75 for the first supplement (ARCE Newsletter No. 97/98). Thus a reference to 74A2 directs the user to item A2 in the original bibliography.

The entries are arranged alphabetically by author's surname, or, if no author, editor, compiler, or other author source is indicated, by the first word of the title that is not an article of speech. Items with multiple editorship are also listed by title.

An author index is provided and subdivided by personal and corporate authorship. Arrangement of the personal author index is alphabetical by surname; the entry is followed by the letter-number code which refers the user to its location in the bibli-

ography where a full citation is provided. Where an author appears more than once, each reference is cited. When two or more titles by an author are included, each title, often abbreviated, is specified in parentheses followed by the appropriate reference code. The corporate author index is arranged alphabetically by city.

The title index is arranged alphabetically according to the first word of the title that is not an article of speech. When an entry appears in more than one subject division, each reference is cited. The reference code following the title refers the user to the full citation in the subject bibliography. Titles of books are underlined; articles are placed within double quotation marks.

I should again like to thank Diane Guzman of the Wilbour Library of Egyptology for her co-operation in this project.

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The Amarna Period is discussed in chapter XI, pp. 268-276.

A2. Hari, Robert. Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet ou la fin d'une dynastie. Geneva: Editions de Belles-Lettres, 1965.

Published 1964 dissertation submitted to the Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Genève (no. 179). Part I: the career of Horemheb during the Amarna Period. Part II: the identification of Horemheb's queen Mutnedjemet as the sister of Nefertiti represented at Amarna.

A3. Répertoire onomastique amarnien. [Aegyptiaca Helvetica, 4]. Geneva: Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel et Centre d'études orientales de l'Université de Genève, 1976.

The author has attempted to assemble a comprehensive list of all names which can be connected with Akhenaten, Smenkhkare and Amenhotep III (Hari accepts a coregency of between 8 and 12 years) as well as,

wherever possible, the origin, titles, parentage, and bibliography of each official named therein.

A4. Smith, Ray W., and Redford, Donald B. The Akhenaten Temple Project, Vol. 1: Initial Discoveries. Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1976.

For complete list of contents see item F1 of this supplement.

A5. Stewart, H. M. Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection. Part One: The New Kingdom. Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1976.

Objects from El-Amarna are included on pp. 10-23 and illustrated in plates 6-12. Fragments of stela UC 410 (p. 22 and pl. 12) shows Akhenaten and a second royal figure which is inscribed as Smenkhkare but which may be Nefertiti, according to the theory of J. R. Harris (see 74A10-12, C3-5).

###### Journal Articles

A6. Aldred, Cyril. "Brief Communications: The Horizon of the Aten," JEA 62 (1976):184.

An observation by the author suggesting that the configuration of the eastern cliffs at El-Amarna, reminiscent of the 3ht sign, might have caused Akhenaten to choose that site for the city of the Aten.

A7. Hari, Robert. "Un nouvel élément de la Corégence Aménophis III - Akhenaton," CdE 51 (1976):252-260.

After a summary of the theories for and against a co-regency of varying lengths, the author restates his belief in a coregency of 12 years. It is also suggested that the persecution of the traditional gods began only after the death of Amenhotep III, not immediately after Akhenaten's move to El-Amarna.

A8. Harris, John R. "Contributions to the History of the Eighteenth Dynasty," SAK 2 (1975):95-101.

Part 2, "Amenhotep III: A Terminus for the Coregency with Akhenaten," suggests a brief coregency of less than two years.

A9. Helck, W. "Probleme der Zeit Haremhebs," CdE 48 (1973): 251-265.

In part 2 the author discusses the possible coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten while attempting to establish a length for the reign of Horemheb.

A10. Löhr, Beatrix. "Ahanjāti in Memphis," SAK 2 (1975):139-187.

A discussion of the remains of monuments erected during the reign of Akhenaten in the Memphis area.

A11. Redford, Donald B. "On the Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty," JNES 25 (1966):113-124.

Section 9: "Akhenaten," pp. 121-122; and section 10: "Smenkhkare," p. 122. The author rejects a coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten (p. 124).

A12. Samson, Julia. "Royal Names in Amarna History: The Historical Development of Nefertiti's Names and Titles," CdE 51 (1976):30-38.

The section entitled "The Names of Smenkhkara" adds more support to J. R. Harris' theories concerning Nefertiti and Smenkhkare (see 74A10-12, C3-5).

A13. Tawfik, Sayed. "Aton Studies," MDAIK 31 (1975):159-168.

The author presents evidence for the separate identities of Nefertiti and Smenkhkare and thereby refutes the theory of J. R. Harris (see 74A10-12, C3-5) which asserts that they are the same person. Evidence for an independent reign for Smenkhkare is also submitted, part of which attempts to explain why Smenkhkare bears in some cartouches the epithet mry Wc-n-Rc or mry 3b-n-Itn and in others mry Itn.

A14. Westendorf, Wolhart. "Achenatens angebliche Selbstverbanung nach Amarna," GM 20 (1976):55-57.

Refutes the interpretation in the "Historische Überblick" of the Berlin and Munich "Nofretete-Echnaton" catalogs (76E1 and 76E3) concerning the text of the boundary stelae. The author asserts that it contained an oath not to remain in Akhetaten, but to be buried there should he die elsewhere.

#### Special Articles

A15. Murnane, William J. "On the Accession Date of Akhenaten," in Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes, January 12, 1977 [Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, no. 39], pp. 163-167. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1976.

The author accepts D. B. Redford's proposed I Proyet 8 as a likely a date as any for the accession. The question of a coregency between Akhenaten and Amenhotep III is left open.

A16. Wente, Edward F., and Van Siclen III, Charles C. "A Chronology of the New Kingdom," in Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes, January 12, 1977 [Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, no. 39], pp. 217-261. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1976.

Following the findings of J. R. Harris (see 76A8), the authors allow for a maximum coregency of two years between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten. No independent reign of significant length is attributed to Smenkhkare.

#### Book Reviews

A17. Calderini, A. "[Review of] Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet ou la fin d'une dynastie, by R. Hari. Geneva, 1965," Aegyptus 45 (1965):104. [76A2, C1]

A18. DeWit, Constant. "[Review of] Ikhnaton. Legend and History, by F. J. Giles. London, 1970," CdE 46 (1971):90-92. [74A4]

A19. Helck, W. "[Review of] History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt. Seven Studies, by D. B. Redford. Toronto, 1967," OLZ 66, no. 1/2 (1971): 17-22. [74A7]

A20. Hornung, Erik. "[Review of] History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt. Seven Studies, by D. B. Redford. Toronto, 1967," BiOr 25 (1968):177-179. [74A7]

A21. —. "[Review of] Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet ou la fin d'une dynastie, by R. Hari. Geneva, 1965," OLZ 62, no. 1/2 (1967):16-19. [76A2, C1]

A22. Kadish, Gerald E. "[Review of] History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt. Seven Studies, by D. B. Redford. Toronto, 1967," JARCE 7 (1968):133-135. [74A7]

A23. Kitchen, K. A. "[Review of] Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt: A New Study, by C. Aldred. London, 1968," JEA 57 (1971): 217-219. [74A1, B1, D1, G1]

A24. —. "[Review of] Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet ou la fin d'une dynastie, by R. Hari. Geneva, 1965," JEA 55 (1969):225-226. [76A2, C1]

A25. Needler, W. "[Review of] Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt: A New Study, by C. Aldred. London, 1968," CdE 44 (1969):278-280. [74A1, B1, D1, G1]

A26. Pomorska, Irena. "[Review of] Ikhnaton. Legend and History, by F. J. Giles. London, 1970," BiOr 29 (1972):290. [74A4]

A27. Schulman, Alan R. "[Review of] Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt; A New Study, by C. Aldred. London, 1968," JARCE 8 (1969-1970):101-102. [74A1, B1, D1, G1]

A28. \_\_\_\_\_. "[Review of] Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet ou la fin d'une dynastie, by R. Hari. Geneva, 1965," AJA 70, no. 4 (1966):381-382. [76A2, C1]

A29. Simpson, William Kelly. "[Review of] History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt. Seven Studies, by D. B. Redford. Toronto, 1967," JAOS 90 (1970):314-315. [74A7]

A30. Uphill, E. P. "[Review of] Ikhnaton. Legend and History, by F. J. Giles. London, 1970," JEA 57 (1971):219-222. [74A4]

A31. Vandersleyen, Claude. "[Review of] Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet ou la fin d'une dynastie, by R. Hari. Geneva, 1965," RdE 19 (1967):180-184. [76A2, C1]

A32. Vandier, Jacques. "[Review of] History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt. Seven Studies, by D. B. Redford. Toronto, 1967," Syria 46 (1969):147-150. [74A7]

A33. Weinstein, James. "[Review of] Ikhnaton. Legend and History, by F. J. Giles. Cranbury, NJ, 1970," Archaeology 26, no. 3 (1973):232. [74A4]

A34. Wente, Edward F. "[Review of] History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt. Seven Studies, by D. B. Redford. Toronto, 1967," JNES 28 (1969):273-280. [74A7]

A35. \_\_\_\_\_. "[Review of] Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet ou la fin d'une dynastie, by R. Hari. Geneva, 1965," JAOS 88 (1968):547-548. [76A2, C1]

A36. \_\_\_\_\_. "[Review of] Ikhnaton. Legend and History, by F. J. Giles. London, 1970," JNES 31 (1972):139-140. [74A4]

A37. Wilson, John A. "[Review of] History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt. Seven Studies, by D. B. Redford. Toronto, 1967," The American Historical Review 73 (1967-1968):779-780. [74A7]

B. Religion

Books

B1. Lichtheim, Miriam. Ancient Egyptian Literature; A Book of Readings, Vol. 2: The New Kingdom. Berkeley and Los

Angeles: University of California Press, 1976. "Hymns and Prayers from El-Amarna" are presented on pp. 89-100.

B2. Smith, Ray W., and Redford, Donald B. The Akhenaten Temple Project, Vol. 1: Initial Discoveries. Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1976. Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 7 contain information interpreted from the talatat which sheds light on the formulative period of the Aten cult including its iconographic evolution. Chapter 4 treats specifically the hb sd as celebrated in Thebes and portrayed on Akhenaten's monuments there.

Journal Articles

B3. Redford, Donald B. "The Sun-disc in Akhenaten's Program: Its Worship and Antecedents, I," JARCE 13 (1976): 47-61. Includes a discussion of the sun disk in Egyptian religion before Akhenaten and traces the developmental stages of the iconography of Akhenaten's god Aten.

C. The Role of Nefertiti

Books

C1. Hari, Robert. Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet ou la fin d'une dynastie. Geneva: Editions de Belles-Lettres, 1965. Published 1964 dissertation submitted to the Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Genève (no. 179). In Part II the author presents his evidence in support of the view that Horemheb's queen Mutnedjemet was the same person as the sister of Nefertiti depicted at Amarna.

C2. Smith, Ray W., and Redford, Donald B. The Akhenaten Temple Project, Vol. 1: Initial Discoveries. Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1976. In chapter 6, D. B. Redford discusses the role of Nefertiti in the early Amarna Period as revealed in the talatat. It is asserted that the prominence of her role in the cult of the Aten was the reason for her importance in the talatat, not the deification of the queen which has been suggested by other scholars.

Journal Articles

C3. Ertman, Earl L. "The Cap-Crown of Nefertiti: Its Function and Probable Origin," JARCE 13 (1976):63-67.

Whereas the cap-crown had been restricted to the king in other periods, its use by Nefertiti, and later by her daughters, during the Amarna Period may reflect the unusual position enjoyed by the royal ladies at that time.

C4. Hanke, Rainer. "Änderungen von Bildern und Inschriften während der Amarna-Zeit," SAK 2 (1975):79-93.

The author discusses the changes made in pictorial representations and inscriptions of Nefertiti in favor of her daughter Merytaten. A theory is proposed which asserts that the name "Kiya" is not another royal wife, but rather the birth name or pet name of Nefertiti reserved for more intimate uses. It is this name which the author believes is most often altered, not the long name within its cartouche.

C5. Hari, Robert. "La reine d'Horemheb était-elle la soeur de Nefertiti?" CdE 51 (1976):39-46.

A response to part 1 of Helck's article (76C6) in which the theory that Nefertiti's sister was Horemheb's queen Mutnedjmet is questioned.

C6. Helck, W. "Probleme der Zeit Haremhebs," CdE 48 (1973): 251-265.

In part 1, the author rejects the theory that Horemheb's queen Mutnedjmet was identified as Nefertiti's sister depicted at Amarna. It is indicated that the ndm sign was used for the queen's name, but possibly the bnr sign for the sister of Nefertiti, thereby making her Mutbeneret and not necessarily the same person.

C7. Samson, Julia. "Royal Names in Amarna History: The Historical Development of Nefertiti's Names and Titles," CdE 51 (1976):30-38.

The section entitled "The Names of Smenkhkara" adds more support to J. R. Harris' theory concerning Nefertiti and Smenkhkare (see 74A10-12, C3-5).

C8. Tawfik, Sayed. "Aton Studies," MDAIK 31 (1975):159-168.

The author refutes point by point the theory of J. R. Harris (see 74A10-12, C3-5) which asserts that Nefertiti and Smenkhkare were the same person. He includes such evidence as important differences in the Neferneferuaten cartouches of the two rulers, consistent portrayal of Nefertiti's femininity, and examples of

Smenkhkare's independent rule with Merytaten as hmt nsw wrt.

D. Pathological Studies and the Occupant of Valley Tomb No. 55  
Journal Articles

D1. Connolly, R. C.; Harrison, R. G.; and Ahmed, Soheir. "Brief Communications: Serological Evidence for the Parentage of Tut'ankhamun and Smenkhkare," JEA 62 (1976):184-186.

Based on serological analysis of tissue samples from Amenhotep III, Yuya and Thuya, the authors conclude that if Amenhotep III was indeed the father of both Tutankhamen and Smenkhkare, either Queen Tiye or Sitamen could have been their mother. The proposed blood-groups for Tiye and Sitamen could also be used for identification should their mummies be found. [It should be noted that J. E. Harris and E. F. Wente have reported the identification of the mummy of an older woman originally found in 1898 in a side chamber in Amenhotep II's tomb as that of Tiye. See "Queen Tiye Found," The Oriental Institute. News & Notes, no. 30, October 1976, and "The Grandmummy of King Tut Is Identified," The New York Times, October 14, 1976, p. 18c3].

D2. Hanke, Rainer. "Änderungen von Bildern und Inschriften während der Amarna-Zeit," SAK 2 (1975):79-93.

It is suggested that the coffin found in Tomb 55 was originally prepared as an inner coffin for Nefertiti in the early Amarna Period, not for Merytaten. The author also offers a new reconstruction for the damaged line 12 of the inscriptions on the foot of the coffin, inserting the titles and name of Kiya whom he identifies as Nefertiti (see 76C4).

D3. Schnabel, Dieter. "Die Rätsel des Grabes No. 55 im 'Tal der Könige,'" Das Altertum 22, no. 4 (1976):226-233.

A general summary of the discovery, excavation and interpretation of Tomb 55 and its occupant. The identification of the mummy as that of Smenkhkare and his close kinship with Tutankhamen are accepted.

Special Articles

D4. Wilson, John A. "Mrs. Andrews and 'The Tomb of Queen Tiyi,'" in Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes, January 12, 1977 [Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, no. 39], pp. 273-279. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1976.

A presentation of excerpts with commentary from the diary of Mrs. Emma B. Andrews, the sister of Theodore M. Davis, which refer to the discovery of Tomb 55 between the dates January 4-29, 1907.

E. Art

Books

E1. Berlin. Museen. Ägyptisches Museum. Nofretete - Echnaton; 10. April - 16. Juni 1976. [exhibition catalog]

88 plates, some in color. Exhibition of antiquities on loan from several Egyptian museums. Antiquities from the host museum include plates 72-88.

E2. Gaballa, G. A. Narrative in Egyptian Art. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Zabern for the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo, 1976.

The narrative in Amarna art is discussed in chapter VI, part I, "The Amarna Period," pp. 68-84.

E3. Munich. Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst. Nofretete - Echnaton; 17. Januar - 21. März 1976. [exhibition catalog]

90 plates, some in color. Exhibition of antiquities on loan from several Egyptian museums held in the exhibition hall, Haus der Kunst. Antiquities from the host museum include plates 72-90.

E4. Muscarella, Oscar White, ed. Ancient Art; The Norbert Schimmel Collection. Mainz: Zabern, 1974.

Catalog nos. 241-265 illustrate and describe Amarna reliefs assumed to originate from excavations at Hermopolis. Black-and-white with a color illustration of no. 241 on cover.

E5. Stewart, H. M. Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection. Part One: The New Kingdom. Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1976.

Objects from El-Amarna are included on pp. 10-23 and illustrated in plates 6-12.

Journal Articles

E6. Barta, W. "Zur Darstellungsweise der Kolossalstatuen Amenophis' IV aus Karnak," ZÄS 102 (1975):91-94.

A re-evaluation of the significance and possible traditional origin of the style of representation employed in Akhenaten's colossal statues from Karnak.

E7. Charlton, Nial. "Brief Communications: The Berlin Head of Nefertiti," JEA 62 (1976):184.

An observation suggesting that the left eye of the bust is complete and represents the portrayal of a blind eye.

E8. Hanke, Rainer. "Änderungen von Bildern und Inschriften während der Amarna-Zeit," SAK 2 (1975):79-93.

The process by which the relief representations of Nefertiti were altered during the late Amarna Period in favor of Merytaten or possibly Ankhesenpaaten is discussed and illustrated.

E9. Harris, J. R. "Et nyt bevis på kongeparrets ligestilling i Amarna-tiden," Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 33 (1976):78-84.

Description of a faience object in a private collection in Copenhagen having the form of a flattened sphere with a hole through the vertical axis. It features overall low relief including cartouches and representations of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. Color illustrations.

E10. Jelgersma, H. C. "Een hypothese over Echnaton en de Negerkunst," Phoenix 19 (1973):231-240.

The existence of influences from Amarna art in the art of Black Africa is asserted.

E11. Müller, Maya. "L'art d'Amarna et de la fin de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie," SAK 4 (1976):237-253.

Discussion of the art from the reigns of Amenhotep III, Akhenaten, and Tutankhamen. Presents the theory that Amarna art was structured on diagonal lines rather than on the traditional system of coordinates based on vertical and horizontal lines. 4 plates and 6 figures.

E12. Peterson, Bengt. "Fragments of Akhenaten Reliefs in Stockholm," The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities. Medelhavsmuseet. Bulletin, no. 11 (1976): 5-11.

5 sandstone fragments in the collection from the talatat of Akhenaten's Karnak temple.

E13. Russmann, Edna R. "Sunk Relief Representations of Women, Karnak, Egypt, Dynasty 18, Reign of Akhenaten (1363-1347 BC)," Boston Museum Bulletin 73, no. 369 (1975): 34-35.

Fragment of a sandstone relief from a wall of the Karnak temple.

E14. Vandersleyen, C. "Objectivité des portraits égyptiens," BSFE, no. 73 (1975):5-27.

Includes a discussion of Amarna art on pp. 12-24. The author refutes the stereotype of the so-called "bouche amarnienne."

Magazine Articles

E15. Harris, J. R. "Amarna-tidens kunst," Gutenberghus Årsskrift, 1976, pp. 4-17.

A popular summary of Amarna art with mostly color illustrations.

Book Reviews

E16. Aldred, Cyril. "[Review of] Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections, by J. D. Cooney. New York, 1965," JEA 52 (1966):186-189. [74E4]

E17. Barta, W. "[Review of] Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections, by J. D. Cooney. New York, 1965," BiOr 24 (1967):49-50. [74E4]

E18. Curto, S. "[Review of] Akhenaten and Nefertiti, by C. Aldred. New York, 1973," Aegyptus 56 (1976):304. [74E2]

E19. Ertman, Earl L. "[Review of] Akhenaten and Nefertiti, by C. Aldred. New York, 1973," JARCE 11 (1974):93-94. [74E2]

E20. Gilbert, Pierre. "[Review of] Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections, by J. D. Cooney. New York, 1965," CdE 42 (1967):321-326. [74E4]

E21. Goedicke, Hans. "[Review of] Akhenaten and Nefertiti, by C. Aldred. New York, 1973," AJA 78 (1974):300-301. [74E2]

E22. \_\_\_\_\_. "[Review of] Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections, by J. D. Cooney. New York, 1965," WZKM 61 (1967):146-147. [74E4]

E23. Needler, W. "[Review of] Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections, by J. D. Cooney. New York, 1965," Archaeology 20, no. 1 (1967):72-74. [74E4]

E24. Nims, Charles F. "[Review of] Akhenaten and Nefertiti, by C. Aldred. New York, 1973," JNES 35 (1976):279-280. [74E2]

E25. \_\_\_\_\_. "[Review of] Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections, by J. D. Cooney. New York, 1965," JAOS 88 (1968):544-546. [74E4]

E26. Samson, Julia. "[Review of] Akhenaten and Nefertiti, by C. Aldred. New York, 1973," BiOr 32 (1975):204-205. [74E2]

E27. \_\_\_\_\_. \_\_\_\_\_. JEA 61 (1975):263-265. [74E2]

E28. Scott, Nora. "[Review of] Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections, by J. D. Cooney. New York, 1965," AJA 71 (1967):90. [74E4]

E29. Terrace, Edward. "[Review of] Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections, by J. D. Cooney. New York, 1965," JARCE 5 (1966):129-130. [74E4]

E30. Wolf, W. "[Review of] Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections, by J. D. Cooney. New York, 1965," OLZ 62, no. 5/6 (1967):247-249. [74E4]

F. Excavations and the Akhenaten Temple Project

Books

F1. Smith, Ray W., and Redford, Donald B. The Akhenaten Temple Project, Vol. 1: Initial Discoveries. Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1976.

First volume in a series of publications of the Project. Articles included: 1. "Description of the Project," by R. W. Smith; 2. "Interpretation and Discoveries," by R. W. Smith; 3. "Aten and the Names of His Temple(s) at Thebes," by S. Tawfik; 4. "Jubilee Scenes on Talatat," by J. Gohary; 5. "The Ninth Pylon and Its Talatat," by R. Saad; 6. "Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and the Princesses," by D. B. Redford; 7. "Religious Titles on Blocks from the Aten Temple(s) at Thebes," by S. Tawfik; 8. "Court- and Government-Titles in the Karnak Talatat," by D. B. Redford; and 9. "The Palace of Akhenaten in the Karnak Talatat," by D. B. Redford. 95 black-and-white plates. Many parallels are drawn to the later structures at Amarna.

F2. Ucko, P. J.; Tringham, R.; and Dimbleby, G. W., ed. Man, Settlement and Urbanism. London: Duckworth, 1972.

Part III, section 2A: "Temple and Town in Ancient Egypt," by B. J. Kemp, pp. 657-680. Amarna is extensively discussed. Figs. 4 and 5 illustrate the central area and part of the North Suburb.

Journal Articles

F3. Anus, Pierre. "Un domaine thébain d'époque 'amarnienne' sur quelques blocs de remplacement trouvés à Karnak," BIFAO 69 (1971):69-88.  
Analysis of eight blocks which the author believes may come from a residence built by Akhenaten before or very early in his reign in the vicinity of Thebes.

F4. Decker, W. "Ein Amarnablock mit sportlichem Motiv," GM 20 (1976):9-16.  
A re-evaluation of block no. 8 as analyzed by Pierre Anus (76F3).

F5. Hoffmeier, James K. "Observations on the Evolving Chariot Wheel in the 18th Dynasty," JARCE 13 (1976):43-45.  
Contains a reference to an assembled talatat scene in the Akhenaten Temple Project Cairo office which depicts Akhenaten in his chariot.

F6. Kemp, Barry J. "The Window of Appearance at El-Amarna, and the Basic Structure of This City," JEA 62 (1976):81-99.  
Attempts to assign a possible location for the window of appearance in the King's House in Akhetaten and depicted in the tombs at Amarna. The probability of more than one such structure is suggested based on representations both at Amarna and from the Karnak talatat. The author also presents the view that the principal residence of the royal family was in the northern end of the city and that the Royal Road served as the thoroughfare for the royal chariot ride to the temple/administrative complex in the central city.

F7. Lauffrey, Jean. "La colonnade-propylée occidentale de Karnak dite 'Kiosque de Taharqa' et ses abords; rapport provisoire des fouilles de 1969 et commentaire architectural," Kêmi 20 (1970):111-164.  
Section VI. P(20)2 "Cartouche en ronde bosse d'Aton" found in the NW interior corner of the kiosk, pp. 122-124, figs. 10a-b.

F8. Löhr, Beatrix. "Aḥanjāti in Memphis," SAK 2 (1975):139-187.  
A discussion of remains of monuments erected during the reign of Akhenaten in the Memphis area.

F9. Martin, G. T. "The Tomb of Akhenaten at El-'Amarna," De Ibis, N. S. 1, no. 3 (1976):39-42.

A slightly amended abstract of a lecture first delivered before members of the Egypt Exploration Society.

F10. Peterson, Bengt. "Fragments of Akhenaten Reliefs in Stockholm," The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities. Medelhavsmuseet. Bulletin, no. 11 (1976): 5-11.  
5 sandstone fragments in the collection from the talatat of Akhenaten's Karnak temple.

F11. Russmann, Edna R. "Sunk Relief Representations of Women, Karnak, Egypt, Dynasty 18, Reign of Akhenaten (1363-1347 BC)," Boston Museum Bulletin 73, no. 369 (1975): 34-35.  
Fragment of a sandstone relief from a wall of the Karnak temple.

F12. Sa'ad, Ramadan, and Traunecker, Claude. "Textes et reliefs mis au jour dans la grande cour du temple de Karnak (1969)," Kêmi 20 (1970):165-186.  
Discoveries from the reign of Akhenaten on pp. 169-173, fig. 5.

F13. Smith, Ray W. "Computers en de Egyptologie," Spiegel Historiael 7, no. 9 (1972):493-496.  
A popular summary of the original Akhenaten Temple Project with illustrations.

F14. Stadelmann, R. "Tempelpalast und Erscheinungsfenster in den Thebanischen Totentempeln," MDAIK 29 (1973): 221-242.  
The Amarna window of appearances is discussed on pp. 224-227.

Magazine Articles

F15. Leprohon, R. J. "Notes and News from Egypt: East Karnak 1976, A Report," Newsletter SSEA, July 1976, pp. 5-6.  
Brief summary of the Akhenaten Temple Project's 1976 season.

F16. Redford, Donald B. "The Akhenaten Temple Project: The First Season of Excavation in East Karnak," Newsletter ARCE, Spring 1976, pp. 10-13.  
Included are a summary of the stratigraphic history of the East Karnak site where the Project has located the foundations of the Gm-t(w)-p3-itn Temple and a

description of the decorated talatat recovered there.

Special Articles

F17. Hankey, V. "The Aegean Deposit at El Amarna," in Republic of Cyprus. Ministry of Communication and Works. Department of Antiquities. Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean," Nicosia 27th March - 2nd April 1972, pp. 128-135. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1973.

F18. Merrillees, R. S. "Mycenaean Pottery from the Time of Akhenaten in Egypt," in Republic of Cyprus. Ministry of Communication and Works. Department of Antiquities. Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean," Nicosia 27th March - 2nd April 1972, pp. 175-186. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1973.

F19. Smith, Ray W. "The Akhenaten Temple Project," in National Geographic Society Research Reports: 1968 Projects, pp. 379-388. Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, 1976.

A summary of the initial stages of the Project including computer uses in assembling temporary talatat scenes.

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F20. Ertman, Earl L. "[Review of] The Royal Tomb of El-'Amarna, Vol. 1: The Objects, by G. T. Martin. [Egypt Exploration Society. Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 35th Memoir]. London, 1974," JARCE 12 (1975):115-117. [75A2, C1, E2, F1]

F21. Gilbert, Pierre. "[Review of] The Royal Tomb of El-'Amarna, Vol. 1: The Objects, by G. T. Martin. [Egypt Exploration Society. Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 35th Memoir]. London, 1974," CdE 51 (1976):112-114. [75A2, C1, E2, F1]

F22. Peck, W. H. "[Review of] The Royal Tomb of El-'Amarna, Vol. 1: The Objects, by G. T. Martin. [Egypt Exploration Society. Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 35th Memoir]. London, 1974," BiOr 32, no. 5/6 (1975):362-364. [75A2, C1, E2, F1]

G. Language and Writing (Including the Amarna Letters)

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G1. The Cambridge Ancient History. 3d ed. Edited by I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond and E. Sollberg-

er. Vol. II, pt. 2. History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1380-1000 B.C. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Chapter XX, "The Amarna Letters from Palestine" by W. F. Albright, is derived from fascicle 51 which was originally published in 1966 (74G5).

G2. Hari, Robert. Répertoire onomastique amarnien. [Aegyptiaca Helvetica, 4]. Geneva: Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel et Centre d'études orientales de l'Université de Genève, 1976.

The author has attempted to assemble a comprehensive list of all names which can be connected with Akhenaten, Smenkhkare and Amenhotep III. The origin, titles, parentage, and bibliography of each official are included wherever possible.

G3. James, T. G. H. Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in The Brooklyn Museum, I: from Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII. Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1974.

Nos. 283, 286-425 and plates LXXIII-LXXXIV examine inscriptions from objects dating to the reigns of Akhenaten through Ay, especially shawabtis of Akhenaten.

G4. Lichtheim, Miriam. Ancient Egyptian Literature; A Book of Readings, Vol. 2: The New Kingdom. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976.

Included are "The Late Boundary Stelae of Amenhotep IV Akhenaten" based on the text of Stela S, pp. 48-51, and "Hymns and Prayers from El-Amarna," pp. 89-100.

G5. Smith, Ray W., and Redford, Donald B. The Akhenaten Temple Project, Vol. 1: Initial Discoveries. Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1976.

For complete list of contents see item F1 of this supplement.

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G6. Brunner, Hellmut. "Eine Inschrift aus der Frühzeit Amenophis IV," ZÄS 97 (1971):12-18.

An inscribed fragment in a private collection.

G7. Eyre, C. "Brief Communications: An Egyptianism in the Amarna Letters?" JEA 62 (1976):183-184.

A parallel in style and phraseology of Akkadian and Egyptian letters may give insight into the way the Egyptian scribe dealt with Akkadian grammar.

G8. Görg, M. "'Maru' und 'Millo'," GM 20 (1976):29-30.

A possible philological and religious connection between the "M3rw-itn" at Amarna and the "Millo" in Solomon's Jerusalem is discussed.

G9. Hanke, Rainer. "Änderungen von Bildern und Inschriften während der Amarna-Zeit," SAK 2 (1975):79-93.

The alteration of Amarna inscriptions during the later Amarna Period is discussed with the presentation of various textual reconstructions including several by the author.

G10. Moran, W. L. "Amarna Glosses," RdA 69, no. 2 (1975):147-158.

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G11. Kitchen, K. A. "[Review of] The Chronology of the Amarna Letters, with Special Reference to the Hypothetical Coregency of Amenophis III and Akhenaten, by B. F. Campbell, Jr. Baltimore, 1964," JEA 53 (1967):178-182. [not within coverage of this bibliography]

N.B.: Abbreviations for journal titles conform to those used in Janssen's Annual Egyptological Bibliography.

#### Author Index

##### Personal

Ahmed, Soheir: D1

Albright, W. F.: G1

Aldred, Cyril: ("The Horizon of the Aten") A6; ("[Review of] Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis...") E16

Anus, Pierre: F3

Barta, W.: ("Zur Darstellungsweise der Kolossalstatuen...") E6; ("[Review of] Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis...") E17

Brunner, Hellmut: G6

Calderini, A.: A17

Charlton, Nial: E7

Connolly, R. C.: D1

Curto, S.: E18

Decker, W.: F4

DeWit, Constant: A18

Dimbleby, G. W.: F2

Ertman, Earl L.: ("The Cap-Crown of Nefertiti...") C3; ("[Review of] Akhenaten and Nefertiti") E19; ("[Review of] The Royal Tomb of El-'Amarna...") F20

Eyre, C.: G7

Gaballa, G. A.: E2

Gilbert, Pierre: ("[Review of] Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis...") E20; ("[Review of] The Royal Tomb of El-'Amarna...") F21

Goedicke, Hans: ("[Review of] Akhenaten and Nefertiti") E21; ("[Review of] Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis...") E22

Görg, M.: G8

Hallo, William W.: A1

Hanke, Rainer: C4, D2, E8, G9

Hankey, V.: F17

Hari, Robert: (Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet...) A2, C1; (Répertoire onomastique amarnien) A3, G2; ("Un nouvel élément de la Corégence...") A7; ("La reine d'Horemheb...") C5

Harris, John R.: ("Contributions to the History of the Eighteenth Dynasty") A8; ("Et nyt bevis på kongeparrets...") E9; ("Amarna-tidens kunst") E15

Harrison, R. G.: D1

Helck, W.: ("Probleme der Zeit Haremhebs") A9, C6; ("[Review of] History and Chronology...") A19

Hoffmeier, James K.: F5

Hornung, Erik: ("[Review of] History and Chronology...") A20; ("[Review of] Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet...") A21

James, T. G. H.: G3

Jelgersma, H. C.: E10  
Kadish, Gerald E.: A22  
Kemp, Barry J.: ("Temple and Town in Ancient Egypt") F2; ("The Window of Appearance at El-Amarna...") F6  
Kitchen, K. A.: ("[Review of] Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt") A23; ("[Review of] Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet...") A24; ("[Review of] The Chronology of the Amarna Letters...") G11  
Lauffrey, Jean: F7  
Leprohon, R. J.: F15  
Lichtheim, Miriam: B1, G4  
Löhr, Beatrix: A10, F8  
Martin, G. T.: F9  
Merrillees, R. S.: F18  
Moran, W. L.: G10  
Müller, Maya: E11  
Murnane, William J.: A15  
Muscarella, Oscar White: E4  
Needler, W.: ("[Review of] Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt") A25; ("[Review of] Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis...") E23  
Nims, Charles F.: ("[Review of] Akhenaten and Nefertiti") E24; ("[Review of] Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis...") E25  
Peck, W. H.: F22  
Peterson, Bengt: E12, F10  
Pomorska, Irena: A26  
Redford, Donald B.: (The Akhenaten Temple Project) A4, B2, C2, F1, G5; ("On the Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty") A11; ("The Sun-disc in Akhenaten's Program...") B3; ("The Akhenaten Temple Project: The First Season...") F16  
Russmann, Edna R.: E13, F11  
Sa'ad, Ramadan: F12  
Samson, Julia: ("Royal Names in Amarna History...") A12, C7; ("[Review of] Akhenaten and Nefertiti") E26, E27

Schnabel, Dieter: D3  
Schulman, Alan R.: ("[Review of] Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt") A27; ("[Review of] Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet...") A28  
Scott, Nora: E28  
Simpson, William Kelly: (The Ancient Near East) A1; ("[Review of] History and Chronology...") A29  
Smith, Ray W.: (The Akhenaten Temple Project) A4, B2, C2, F1, G5; ("Computer's en de Egyptologie") F13; ("The Akhenaten Temple Project") F19  
Stadelmann, R.: F14  
Stewart, H. M.: A5, E5  
Tawfik, Sayed: A13, C8  
Terrace, Edward: E29  
Traunecker, Claude: F12  
Tringham, R.: F2  
Ucko, P. J.: F2  
Uphill, E. P.: A30  
Van Siclen III, Charles C.: A16  
Vandersleyen, Claude: ("[Review of] Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet...") A31; ("Objectivite des portraits egyptiens") E14  
Vandier, Jacques: A32  
Weinstein, James: A33  
Wente, Edward F.: ("Chronology of the New Kingdom") A16; ("[Review of] History and Chronology...") A34; ("[Review of] Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet...") A35; ("[Review of] Ikhnaton. Legend and History") A36  
Westendorf, Wolfhart: A14  
Wilson, John A.: ("[Review of] History and Chronology...") A37; ("Mrs. Andrews and 'The Tomb of Queen Tiyi'") D4  
Wolf, W.: E30

Corporate  
 Berlin. Museen. Ägyptisches Museum: E1  
 Munich. Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst: E3

Title Index

"Achenatens angebliche Selbstverbannung nach Amarna": A14  
 "The Aegean Deposits at El Amarna": F17  
 "Änderungen von Bildern und Inschriften während der Amarna-Zeit":  
 C4, D2, E8, G9  
 "Ahanjāti in Memphis": A10, F8  
 "The Akhenaten Temple Project": F19  
The Akhenaten Temple Project: Initial Discoveries: A4, B2, C2, F1,  
 G5  
 "The Akhenaten Temple Project: The First Season of Excavation in  
 East Karnak": F16  
 "Amarna Glosses": G10  
 "Ein Amarnablock mit sportlischem Motiv": F4  
 "Amarna-tidens kunst": E15  
Ancient Art; The Norbert Schimmel Collection: E4  
Ancient Egyptian Literature; A Book of Readings; The New Kingdom:  
 B1, G4  
The Ancient Near East; A History: A1  
 "L'art d'Amarna et de la fin de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie": E11  
 "Aton Studies": A13, C8  
 "The Berlin Head of Nefertiti": E7  
The Cambridge Ancient History, vol. II, pt. 2: G1  
 "The Cap-Crown of Nefertiti: Its Function and Probable Origin": C3  
 "A Chronology of the New Kingdom": A16

"La colonnade-propylée occidentale de Karnak dite 'Kiosque de  
 Taharga' et ses abords; rapport provisoire des fouilles  
 de 1969 et commentaire architectural": F7  
 "Computers en de Egyptologie": F13  
 "Contributions to the History of the Eighteenth Dynasty": A8  
Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in The Brooklyn Museum, I:  
 from Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII: G3  
 "Un domaine thébain d'époque 'amarnienne' sur quelques blocs de  
 remploi trouvés à Karnak": F3  
Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection.  
 Part One: The New Kingdom: A5, E5  
 "An Egyptianism in the Amarna Letters?": G7  
 "Et nyt bevis på kongeparrets ligestilling i Amarna-tiden": E9  
 "Fragments of Akhenaten Reliefs in Stockholm": E12, F10  
Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet ou la fin d'une dynastie: A2, C1  
 "The Horizon of the Aten": A6  
 "Een hypothese over Echnaton en de Negerkunst": E10  
 "Eine Inschrift aus der Frühzeit Amenophis' IV": G6  
Man, Settlement and Urbanism: F2  
 "'Maru' und 'Millo)": G8  
 "Mrs. Andrews and 'The Tomb of Queen Tiyi)": D4  
 "Mycenaean Pottery from the Time of Akhenaten in Egypt": F18  
Narrative in Egyptian Art: E2  
Nofretete - Echnaton: (Berlin) E1; (Munich) E3  
 "Notes and News from Egypt: East Karnak 1976, A Report": F15  
 "Un nouvel élément de la Corégence Aménophis III - Akhenaton": A7  
 "Objectivité des portraits égyptiens": E14  
 "Observations on the Evolving Chariot Wheel in the Eighteenth Dy-  
 nasty": F5  
 "On the Accession Date of Akhenaten": A15  
 "On the Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty": A11

"Probleme der Zeit Haremhebs": A9, C6

"Die Rätsel des Grabes No. 55 im 'Tal der Könige)": D3

"La reine d'Horemheb etait-elle la soeur de Nefertiti?": C5

Répertoire onomastique amarnien: A3, G2

Review of:

Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt: (Kitchen) A23; (Needler) A25; (Schulman) A27

Akhenaten and Nefertiti: (Curto) E18; (Ertman) E19; (Goedcke) E21; (Nims) E24; (Samson) E26, E27

Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections: (Aldred) E16; (Barta) E17; (Gilbert) E20; (Goedcke) E22; (Needler) E23; (Nims) E25; (Scott) E28; (Terrace) E29; (Wolf) E30

The Chronology of the Amarna Letters, with Special Reference to the Hypothetical Coregency of Amenophis III and Akhenaten: G11

History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: (Helck) A19; (Hornung) A20; (Kadish) A22; (Simpson) A29; (Vandier) A32; (Wente) A34; (Wilson) A37

Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet ou la fin d'une dynastie: (Calderini) A17; (Hornung) A21; (Kitchen) A24; (Schulman) A28; (Vandersleyen) A31; (Wente) A35

Ikhnaton. Legend and History: (DeWit) A18; (Pomorska) A26; (Uphill) A30; (Weinstein) A33; (Wente) A36

The Royal Tomb of El-'Amarna: The Objects: (Ertman) F20; (Gilbert) F21; (Peck) F22

"Royal Names in Amarna History: The Historical Development of Nefertiti's Names and Titles": A12, C7

"Serological Evidence for the Parentage of Tut'ankhamūn and Smenkh-karē": D1

"The Sun-disc in Akhenaten's Program: Its Worship and Antecedents, I": B3

"Sunk Relief Representations of Women, Karnak, Egypt, Dynasty 18, Reign of Akhenaten (1363-1347 BC)": E13, F11

"Tempelpalast und Erscheinungsfenster in den Thebanischen Totentempeln": F14

"Temple and Town in Ancient Egypt": F2

"Textes et reliefs mis au jour dans la grande cour du temple de Karnak (1969)": F12

"The Tomb of Akhenaten at El-'Amarna": F9

"The Window of Appearance at El-Amarna, and the Basic Structure of This City": F6

"Zur Darstellungsweise der Kolossalstatuen Amenophis' IV aus Karnak": E6

مركز البحوث الامريكي بمصر

